

# FROM BCCI TO ISI



THE SAGA OF ENTRAPMENT CONTINUES

ABID ULLAH JAN

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*“There’s so much more. God, there’s so much more. A lot more.”*

FBI agent, Robert Wright, who is being officially prevented from telling the public about how his supervisors blocked his efforts to investigate al-Qaeda pre-9/11.

‘Called off the trail?’ - ABC News, December 19, 2002.



# Preface

“There’s so much more. God, there’s so much more. A lot more.”

FBI agent, Robert Wright, who is officially prevented from telling the public about how his supervisors blocked his efforts to investigate al-Qaeda pre-9/11. ‘Called off the trial?’ ABC News, December 19, 2002.

**E**NTRAPMENT is the illegal and unsavory practice of luring someone into committing a crime, and then prosecuting him for it. Sometimes the entrapped person, organization, or state has no intention or knowledge of the committed crime. The target becomes a victim of a set-up by government agencies, criminal elements, or a collaboration of both, all intent on achieving unstated objectives. Various agencies within the U.S. Government have been using entrapment in diverse ways.

“Frame-ups” in drug “conspiracies” are routine in the United States: there are literally thousands of drug-related conspiracy cases in the United States in which innocent people

are implicated and punished. Arnold S. Trebach writes in his book, *The Great Drug War*. “In many of these cases, the DEA allowed some of its informants to traffic in drugs in exchange for turning in their friends and supplying other information. In too many cases, Gieringer claimed, DEA agents themselves directly engaged in trafficking.”<sup>21</sup>

Trapping innocent people is routine in the United States, and is by no means limited to crimes involving drugs. James Bovard gives numerous examples in his famous book: *Lost Rights*. Based upon his many years of research he concludes: “During the past fifteen years, law enforcement officials have set up thousands of elaborate schemes to entrap people for ‘crimes’ such as buying plant supplies, asking for a job, or shooting a deer. Dozens of private accountants have become double agents, receiving government kickbacks for betraying their clients to IRS.”<sup>22</sup>

At the highest level, the classic example of entrapment, before Operation 9/11 to frame Osama bin Laden and company, was operation “C-Chase” in 1988, the purpose of which was to frame the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) and force its closure. Operation 9/11 is more complex because during this operation, Pakistan’s military intelligence agency (ISI) was entrapped while playing a role in facilitating 9/11.

Frame-ups are not a new idea for U.S. agencies. During the heyday of the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), the FBI routinely used entrapment against members of the civil rights and antiwar movements. In a later, and much publicized, case known as Abscam, the FBI (at the behest of the Justice Department) used agents posing as Arab businessmen to bribe various public officials in return for political favors. Writing in *Governing* magazine in 1998, Alan Ehrenhalt wrote, “Before the Abscam sting against members of Congress in 1980, the idea of inventing crimes and using them to tempt

public officials was virtually unheard of in this country.”<sup>3</sup>

If the FBI and U.S. Justice Department have no problem orchestrating witch hunts against public officials at home, what can we expect of them when it comes to safeguarding the country from the scourge of “international terrorism” from abroad? Especially when the neo-conservatives and religiously motivated officials of the current administration are determined to make invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and beyond their highest priority.

The specter of “Islamic” terrorism gave U.S. agencies and other actors a perfect excuse to return to the good old days of entrapment operations. In their 2001 book, *The COINTELPRO Papers*, Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall suggest that, following the merging of the CIA and FBI, we can likely expect more spurious terror scams, entrapment scenarios, and heavy-handed surveillance of political “targets” at home.<sup>4</sup> Churchill and Vander’s work shows that entrapment and “setting up” are part of the U.S. agencies’ daily routine. At the international level, and as recently as the year 2000, the CIA tried to entrap Iran. Code-named operation Merlin, the CIA used a Russian scientist to sell nuclear blueprints—technical designs for a TBA 480 high-voltage block—to Iranian representatives at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).<sup>5</sup>

After the BCCI incident, the second historical frame-up involved Operation 9/11. The first part of Operation 9/11 was to plan and execute the actual 9/11 attacks, and the second part was to frame Arabs in Afghanistan to pave the way for a war of aggression and occupation of the country. Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI) was not only a partner in the crime but also a victim of the entrapment. We do not know whether the ISI was knowingly involved in the set-up of 9/11 or if it unknowingly played a role in the bigger operation without realizing its full scope. What we do know, from information available in the public domain, is that the

ISI was, nevertheless, fully involved in the initial set-up phases of Operation 9/11. Washington has already been blackmailing Pakistan as a result. However, Pakistan has yet to face the full consequences of the ISI's collaboration with the CIA.

Other than the authors and promoters of the official conspiracy theory surrounding 9/11, most people have concluded that the 9/11 hijackers did not act of their own volition, nor did the World Trade Centre Towers and World Trade Centre 7 building collapse solely due to the impact of “hijacked” planes and subsequent fires. However, a minority of people still accept the ‘official’ version publicized globally by the media. Considering the life-style of Muslims implicated in the 9/11 attacks, and the fact that they are known to have consumed alcohol at a bar the night before 9/11, it is possible that the hijackers may not even have known that they were going to die the next morning—never mind the assertion that they were preparing to die as martyrs the next day. Even Muslims of the weakest faith would not visit nightclubs and consume alcohol when they knew they would shortly die, let alone those who were presented as Muslim fanatics, willing to sacrifice their lives for Islam with an attack on the United States on September 11, 2001.

The evidence discussed in this book suggests that the ‘hijackers’ were used as tools in a carefully planned intelligence operation. The evidence confirms that the Taliban and Osama bin Laden were closely linked to Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence agency (ISI). Amply documented, **the ISI, in turn, owes its existence to the CIA:**

With CIA backing and massive amounts of U.S. military aid, the ISI developed [since the early 1980s] into a parallel structure wielding enormous power over all aspects of government... The ISI had a staff composed of military and intelligence officers, bureaucrats, undercover agents and informers estimated at 150,000.<sup>6</sup>

The ISI actively collaborates with the CIA. It continues to

perform the role of a ‘go-between’ in numerous intelligence operations on behalf of the CIA. The ISI had, and still has, access to considerable funding from the CIA. According to Selig Harrison, a leading American expert on South Asia with access to CIA officials, distribution of these funds has been left to the discretion of the ISI itself with whom “The CIA still has close links.” Harrison spoke to an audience of security experts in London at a conference on “Terrorism and regional security: Managing the challenges of Asia” in the last week of February, just before the Taliban’s destruction of the Buddha statues of Bamiyan. As a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace from 1974 to 1996, he had been in close contact with the CIA.<sup>7</sup>

The ISI directly supported and financed a number of operations and organizations without realizing the seeds of destruction it was sowing for Pakistan. Mossad (the Israeli government’s intelligence agency) also became involved in these operations, in order to have access to the structure and operations of the ISI and Pakistan’s military. These are the lesser well-known facts.

The growing body of evidence suggests that the ISI was actively involved in part of Operation 9/11, where it was required to use its intelligence assets to frame Osama bin Laden for the planned 9/11 attacks. An elaborate operation was undertaken to develop evidence, linking Arabs to the 9/11 attacks, to pave the way for the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. A transfer of funds to the lead hijacker on the orders of the ISI chief is just one piece of the bigger picture. The FBI had this information—they knew exactly who was transferring funds to whom. Less than two weeks later, Agence France Presse (AFP) confirmed the FBI’s findings. According to the AFP report, the money used to finance the 9/11 attacks had allegedly been “wired to WTC hijacker Mohammed Atta from Pakistan, by Ahmad Umar Sheikh, at the



instance of [ISI Chief] General Mahmood [Ahmad].”<sup>8</sup> Dennis Lormel, director of the FBI’s Financial Crimes Unit, has confirmed that Saeed Sheikh transferred \$100,000 to Mohammed Atta at the behest of General Mahmood Ahmed, head of the ISI, before the New York attacks.<sup>9</sup> According to the AFP (quoting the intelligence source): “The evidence we have supplied to the U.S. is of a much wider range and depth than just one piece of paper linking a rogue general to some misplaced act of terrorism.”<sup>10</sup>

The questions remain: What did the U.S. government do with the information provided by the FBI and other sources with regard to the ISI’s involvement in 9/11? Why has there been no meaningful action and investigation? Why are U.S. officials not telling the truth? In a May 16, 2002 press conference on the role of General Mahmood Ahmad, a journalist asked Condoleezza Rice about her awareness of “the reports at the time that the ISI chief was in Washington on September 11<sup>th</sup>, and on September 10<sup>th</sup> \$100,000 was wired from Pakistan to these groups.” She was also asked why General Mahmood was in the United States, and about his meeting with Condoleezza Rice. She replied: “I have not seen that report, and he was certainly not meeting with me.”<sup>11</sup>

Michel Chossudovsky concludes in his June 20, 2005 report, published by the Centre for Research on Globalization (CRG) that the ISI and CIA have developed close relationships, and that Condoleezza Rice was covering up the ISI Chief’s involvement in 9/11:

Dr. Rice’s statement regarding the ISI chief at her May 16 press conference is an obvious cover-up. While General Ahmad was talking to U.S. officials at the CIA and the Pentagon, he had allegedly also been in contact (through a third party) with the September 11 terrorists. What this suggests is that key individuals within the U.S. military-intelligence establishment knew about these ISI contacts with the September 11 terrorist ‘ring leader’, Mohammed Atta, and failed to act. But this conclusion is, in fact,

an understatement. Everything indicates that CIA Director George Tenet and ISI Chief General Mahmood Ahmad had established a close working relationship. General Mahmood had arrived a week prior to September 11 for consultations with George Tenet. Bear in mind that the CIA's George Tenet, also has a close personal relationship with President Bush. Prior to September 11, Tenet would meet the President nearly every morning at 8:00 a.m. sharp, for about half an hour. A document, known as the President's Daily Briefing, or PDB, "is prepared at Langley by the CIA's analytical directorate, and a draft goes home with Tenet each night. Tenet edits it personally and delivers it orally during his early morning meeting with Bush." This practice of "oral intelligence briefings" is unprecedented. Bush's predecessors at the White House received a written briefing: "*With Bush, who liked oral briefings and the CIA director in attendance, a strong relationship had developed. Tenet could be direct, even irreverent and earthy.*"<sup>12</sup>

It is hardly coincidence that the U.S. agencies had prior knowledge of the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre;<sup>13</sup> the hijackers of 9/11 were linked to the ISI and CIA, and that the alleged mastermind of 7/7—the July 7, 2005 bombing in London—was an MI6 agent. Former Justice Department prosecutor John Loftus claims alleged London bombing mastermind Haroon Rashid Aswat is a "double agent" who "works for MI6".<sup>14</sup> The games of deception played by the various international intelligence agencies, whether the CIA, Mossad, RAW, ISI, or KGB, have taken on a life of their own. Their own governments seem incapable of holding them accountable. The pressing issue for weaker states, such as Pakistan, is that the CIA views its agencies as disposable agents and treats them as pawns. It is only a matter of time before the ISI, in turn, is treated in the same manner as it treats its own agents who are no longer considered "valuable assets".

This book tells the untold story of how the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) was entrapped, and demonstrates that American interests and people are not of concern to those who have set their eyes upon global domination.

The story of the BCCI entrapment leads us into the rest of the book, which unravels the role of the ISI, the CIA, and Mossad in Operation 9/11.

The ISI played the part of a worthless pawn in Operation 9/11—as insignificant as the hijackers themselves. The stakes of the game are much higher—the strategic military might of Pakistan and other Muslim states, and the Muslims’ struggle toward self-determination. The ISI was used as simply an individual intelligence asset of the CIA. The question we must ponder is: What will happen when it is time for the chess masters to discard the ISI, particularly when the ISI’s fingerprints are all over the 9/11 crime scene? It matters little if the ISI knew little or nothing about the scope of the crime. The remaining evidence is all that matters.

Since the ISI has been such a valuable asset for the planners of Operation 9/11, it is highly unlikely that the agency itself will ever face the charges laid against them—Pakistan will be held responsible for the ISI’s cooperation in its various dubious activities. It seems that immoral agencies and individuals always undermine the existence of their home nations and bring misery to the world, and Pakistan will soon find itself increasingly bearing the consequences of the ISI/CIA partnership. This vicious cycle will lead to a downward spiral—ISI’s direct or indirect participation in crimes will be used to punish Pakistan. Musharraf’s story be a dull shadow of Saddam’s—a tale of the “good soldier” who salutes, gets promoted, is used and abused, and is finally discarded.

Pakistan has already experienced how the United States treats its partners in crime when it requires more of them. In March of 2003, the ISI faced severe criticism during a U.S. Senate briefing on the drug trade, a crime in which the CIA has been involved since 1960.<sup>15</sup> Questioning two key members of the Bush administration at a hearing of the House Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, several Congressmen came

down hard on Pakistan.<sup>16</sup>

Nancy Chamberlin, Washington's ambassador to Pakistan until 2002, was forced to confirm and reconfirm that over the past six years, the ISI's involvement in the drug trade was "substantial." When asked, as ambassador, did she ever report Pakistan's involvement with the Taliban and its intelligence unit's involvement in the opium trade, the former ambassador replied "No, I did not." She was never asked "Why not?", and this is a question that must be asked now. Why was Pakistan not reported? Why has the ISI's role in 9/11 not been documented? Why did the U.S. government and the 9/11 Commission ignore all the facts relating to the ISI? Is their silence part of a bigger plan? In the chapters of this book we will attempt to shed light upon these questions, and address the future of Pakistan following the saga of the BCCI closure.

This book shows how General Musharraf has become a victim of blackmail for the ISI's role in Operation 9/11. Subsequently, the general has done more under constant threats than he could against the sovereignty, independence and strategic interests of Pakistan. Despite that, the blackmail continues. Now it is a matter of life and death for General Musharraf, but he still has limited time and razor sharp options to save not only Pakistan but millions of other who are set to suffer and die in the coming Greater War—a war which is the humanity's common destiny if the truth about Operation 9/11, the ISI's role in it and the way Pakistan has been blackmailed since then remains hidden from the masses.

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# The saga of BCCI's closure

The closure of the Bank of Credit and Commerce (BCCI) was the result of a well orchestrated campaign to involve the bank administration in alleged illegal activities. In the article below, Mr Abid Ullah Jan reveals for the first time, the conspiracy hatched by

Additionally any may be more important to the United States and the UK governments was the fact that BCCI was extensively used by the CIA for its operation to fund their liberation struggle against the top of it. CIA was suspicious that BCCI had primarily provided much needed, funds to Pakistan for the purchase of nuclear material and technical know-how along with other things to make the Islamic Bomb. To what extent BCCI was involved in this but its involvement in Pakistan's nuclear

hiding the billions of the CIA with the government to direct the operation towards BCCI — the

**C-Chase Oper**  
In summer 1986, Alvaro Urment's Confidential Informant by establishing a small time inc

The content in Chapter 1 was published in four parts in 1994. The author developed the content from the court transcripts of the accused BCCI officers.

# The Saga of BCCI Closure

**W**HEN it comes to information from media sources, it seems that we think of but one thing at a time. The canvas of our imagination is only a certain size, and if the Western media paints one set of objects upon it, they immediately efface any other information. The consequence of this is that our minds cannot see the broader picture on some issues, for example the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) scandal, and we are forced to see at a single glance what has been presented to us.

The BCCI story made big headlines and generated dozens of books. The closure of the BCCI left a final impression on the public mind of a corrupt Bank, involved in drug dealing, money laundering, and the financing of nuclear programs in

rogue states.

In modern history, a particular incident like the closure of the BCCI may seem inevitable for a moment or so, but when the facts are unfolded the story presented by the “mainstream” media in the West may be different from the reality. The BCCI has been accused of all the wrongs of the banking world, and was found guilty by the Western media. It is true that five BCCI officers in the United States and three in England were convicted on money laundering charges. The following details from court transcripts of the accused will illustrate how this happened. Also, it should be noted that these are only eight employees from a huge organization.

By 1994, in addition to closing down the giant Muslim Bank, the U.S. government had collected approximately 1.4 billion dollars in cash and assets from the BCCI case. The United States had promised to reimburse part of these funds to worldwide depositors who had lost their deposits, but contrary to this guarantee, none of them has yet seen a dime of these profits. It would appear that by playing the role of “global cop”, the United States has benefited financially from the BCCI closure, yet none of the depositors in the United States lost any money.

The BCCI saga publicly started in 1988, when the bank and eight of its officers were indicted for being engaged in money laundering activities. However, court transcripts of the accused BCCI officials, numerous Senate Committee hearings in the United States, and other sources state that the official attack on the bank started in 1984, when the CIA alerted the U.S. Treasury, the FBI, and other international agencies that the BCCI was allegedly involved in illegal activities. According to data available from Senate hearings, it is evident that prior to 1984 the CIA was very comfortable with the BCCI and had a good working relationship with it, especially in relation to the funding of Afghan Mujahideen, and secret sales of arms to

Iran. According to *Newsweek* (December 7, 1992), “The BCCI was involved in some of the most sensitive intelligence operations of the Reagan-Bush years.”

So, the BCCI was exactly like Pakistan and the Afghan *Mujahideen*, precious assets which had become a liability for the United States. A number of incidents and coincidences illustrate how the CIA decided to ditch the BCCI and instigate a conspiracy to discard it from the elite club of the banking world.

In the mid-1980s, the CIA, the U.S. government, and other competitors of the BCCI came to realize that the bank was becoming a source to be reckoned with. The CIA was especially interested in the BCCI’s close relationships with developing countries, where its unique expertise in retail banking was competitive with the services offered by any Western bank.

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The BCCI grew too big for its boots. By the late 1980s, the BCCI group was growing rapidly into a \$50 billion monster, with assets of \$25 billion in its own books and another \$25 billion in the books of its sister companies, such as the First American Bank, the National Bank of Georgia, and the Independence Bank of Saudi Arabia. It had branches in over 90 countries, on all five continents.

Additionally, and maybe more importantly to the U.S. and UK governments, was the fact that the bank was extensively used by the PLO and other liberation armies to fund their activities across the globe. Moreover, the CIA was suspicious that the BCCI had primarily provided funds to Pakistan for the purchase of nuclear material and technical expertise designed to create an “Islamic bomb”. To what extent the BCCI was actually involved is unclear, but its involvement at some level in Pakistan’s nuclear program has been suggested in Senate hearings and in William A Burrows and Robert Windrem’s



book, *Critical Mass*.

Third World countries controlled and ran this growing banking group, and the majority of these nations were Muslim. The generous, clever, and far-sighted President of the BCCI, Agha Hasan Abedi, personally created the bank with the idea of using it as a bridge between the developed Western World and the Third World, by reallocating economical resources from one to the other.

The bank successfully achieved its objective, and often provided vital liquidity to countries in Asia, Africa, and South America. The BCCI helped them meet IMF guidelines through “bridge financing”. This was much to the annoyance of the IMF and other leaders in the Western banking world. However, the main irritant was its growing capability to compete effectively in both “flight capital” markets and trade financing.

Additionally, the BCCI provided substantial funds for charitable purposes to various Third World countries, through charitable foundations such as the “Third World Foundation”—based in London, UK. This provided a forum for Third World economists, scientists, and agriculturists to discuss and provide vital information through its quarterly magazine, “The Third World Journal.” It also provided educational scholarships for deserving Third World students, and established a “Third World Prize”, similar to the Nobel Prize, worth \$100,000. The Third World Institute of Rice in Thailand won this award for research into increasing rice yields. Raul Prebisch, the Argentine economist, also won the prize for his economic theories on Third World economic growth.

The former U.S. President Jimmy Carter set up another foundation, “Global 2000”, which was funded with a 20 million dollar contribution from the BCCI. This foundation was designed to improve the economic, demographic, and environmental future of the world. The BCCI also established the Pakistan-based “BCCI Foundation.” This was funded from

the profits of BCCI branches in Pakistan, and used to provide funds for local education, health-care, and housing.

The *South Magazine* published by the Third World Foundation served as a forum for intellectual discussion, and provided exclusive coverage of current issues relevant to the people of Third World countries. At its peak, circulation of this BCCI-funded magazine was about 200,000 weekly, and was read extensively by businessmen, politicians, and young bankers from Asia to South America.

Most importantly, BCCI provided millions of depositors from the Third World with an alternative to Western banks. It provided much needed support to emerging corporations in the Third World, and also provided a training ground for young Pakistani bankers before their exposure to the international arena of banking competition.

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Third World hopes and achievements have always been frustrated by the Western World in very strange and unexpected ways. Mr. Abedi and the BCCI became so good at playing this game that in the early 1980s the U.S. government bitterly disappointed the Third World by forcing closure of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International. While closure of the BCCI was primarily due to the U.S. government, the BCCI's own inherent weaknesses and accounting practices put the final nail in its coffin.<sup>17</sup>

Today, the fallen colossus of the BCCI tells a tale of entrapment to the world. With its aforementioned background as a rising Third World institution, U.S. customs, the CIA, and the FBI devised an elaborate plan, titled "Operation C-Chase", to topple the giant. An agent, Robert Mazur (also introduced as Robert Musella to the BCCI), spearheaded the operation. He was supported by confidential informers, including Alvaro Uribe. Also involved were money launderers Jimmy Mora and

Gonzalo Mora from Medellin, Colombia.

The plan was to enlarge the minor money laundering business of Gonzalo Mora through extensive logistical support from the U.S. government—undercover agents would collect drug money in cash on the streets of the United States, launder them through major U.S. cooperating banks, and return the profit from the sale proceeds of the drugs to the owners in Colombia.

The following evidence from court transcripts of BCCI officials indicted in the United States shows that once the efficiency and track record of the Mora organization was proven, this minor money laundering operation would rise to the big league and entice the kingpins of the drug trade to deal with Mora. This would ultimately allow the U.S. government to direct the money laundering operation toward BCCI—the primary target.

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### **Operation C-Chase**

In the late fall of 1986, U.S. Customs undercover agents in Tampa, Florida, met Gonzalo Mora, Jr., a resident of Medellin, Colombia. The meeting purpose was to make arrangements for the agents to collect drug proceeds and deposit them into a financial institution where they could be wire transferred. The drug dollars were to be collected in Los Angeles, Miami, and New York. The money laundering scheme was based in the Tampa office of the BCCI, then one of the ten largest banks in the world. Law enforcement authorities in the United Kingdom, France, and Italy cooperated with U.S. authorities, presumably with the belief that they were participating in a genuine under-cover operation against illegal activities. In October 1988, as a consequence of a grand jury indictment, Operation C-Chase was made known to the public.

The government charged numerous bank officers from the BCCI with Money Laundering Control Act (MLCA) violations, conspiracy to violate the MLCA, and with 21 U.S.C. 846—conspiracy to aid and abet a narcotics conspiracy vis-à-vis the laundering of the drug dollars (United States v. Awan, 966 F.2d 1415 [11th Cir. 1992]). The BCCI Tampa office was seized pursuant to forfeiture orders under 21 U.S.C. 853, which provides for criminal forfeiture of property of defendants who violate the drug laws, including the drug conspiracy statute. In exchange for release of the bank, \$14 million was posted as a bond (the amount of money laundered during the undercover operation). In January of 1990, the BCCI entered into a negotiated plea agreement with the government and pled guilty to MLCA violations. Despite an agreement which called for the bank to forfeit the \$14 million plus interest, (the largest ever “fine/forfeiture” of any bank convicted of money laundering) certain members of Congress criticized the plea as being a “sweetheart deal”. Trial of the BCCI bankers from Panama City, Paris, and Tampa began on January 22, 1990. The jury received the case on July 19 and returned guilty verdicts on July 29, 1990. The bankers received fifteen-year sentences, but none completed the full term because the U.S. government was less interested in their convictions than in their endorsement of the allegations against the bank.

In summer 1986, Alvaro Uribe, the U.S. government’s confidential informant, established links with the small-time money laundering business of Gonzalo Mora in Medellin, Colombia. Uribe informed U.S. Customs agents Emir Abreu and Angelo Torres that he had infiltrated Mora’s organization, and had paved the way for their under-cover entry into the operation.

On July 14, 1986, Abreu (using the undercover identity “Emiho Dominguez”), Uribe, and agent Torres met Gonzalo Mora’s brother, Jimmy Mora, in Miami, Florida. Mora was told that Uribe’s “organization” could open accounts in banks with

Miami branches for the purpose of laundering money derived from cocaine sales.

The U.S. government-devised laundering scheme ensured that checks from the accounts were signed by agent Uribe in blank and delivered to Mora in Colombia. The cash proceeds of cocaine sales in the United States were picked up by Abreu's group and deposited in Uribe's undercover accounts. Mora completed the checks in corresponding dollar amounts, sold them to money brokers on the Colombian black market, and forwarded the "cleaned" pesos to the owners of the funds—the drug dealers.

On July 15, 1986, Uribe (the informant) called Mora (the drug launderer) and instructed him to open two bank accounts. Agent Abreu then opened two accounts at the Florida National Bank (FNB) in St. Petersburg, Florida, in his own name. The FNB's assistant Vice President Rita Rozansky was informed of the operation's undercover nature, and hence the bank began its role in the U.S. entrapment scheme against the BCCI. Presumably, bank officials believed themselves to be involved in an anti-cocaine operation.

It was at this point that the U.S. government decided to introduce an experienced hand to the operation against BCCI. On August 1, 1986, agents Uribe and Abreu met Jimmy and Gonzalo Mora and gave them the business card of another U.S. Customs agent, Robert Mazur. This agent later introduced himself to the BCCI as "Robert Musella." Abreu told Mora that Mazur, with whom he was affiliated, was a big money launderer and would be pleased to meet the Mora brothers in connection with establishing business contacts.

Over the next few months, Abreu picked up more than 100,000 dollars in cash from Miami, and deposited this in the two accounts at the Florida National Bank (FNB) in Florida. Mora filled out the pre-signed checks and distributed them on the Colombian black market, and funds were forwarded to the

owners.

On December 2, 1986, Gonzalo Mora, Jr., flew to Tampa from Colombia. Uribe picked him up at the airport and took him to the Calibre Chase apartments. There, Uribe introduced Mora to Emiho Dominguez and Bob Musella, the undercover names for Emir Abreu and Robert Mazur. With Abreu translating, Mazur welcomed Mora to Florida and said that he would like Mora to relax for a few days so they could get to know each other and talk a little business. Mazur informed Mora that he could help people to avoid their tax liability and launder cocaine proceeds.

For his part, Mora seemed eager to expand the volume of cash flowing into his small money-laundering business. He explained that he knew a number of Colombian cocaine suppliers whose businesses generated large amounts of cash in a number of American cities. He just needed the right setup to draw more from them.

The following day, Mazur and Abreu took Mora to Sunbird Airlines near St. Petersburg. Mazur handed the Colombian a brochure that U.S. Customs had created. It listed Mazur as Sunbird's director of international finance, and described him as someone who raised capital for the business. Mazur himself explained that Sunbird was a charter service for passengers, mail, and cargo between Florida and the Bahamas—but, he told Mora confidentially, Sunbird really was a front business owned and operated by one of Mazur's clients, a drug dealer.

On the way to lunch, the men stopped by the Florida National Bank in St. Petersburg. Mazur and Abreu deposited \$200,000 into one of their accounts. The message was clear to Mora—there was no need to divide the cash into packages of less than \$10,000 to avoid suspicion. The \$200,000 deposited by agent Mazur was from a staged delivery of cash for Mora as a “front business.”

Agent Mazur shared the commission with Mora for offering

him a doorway through which unrestricted amounts of illicit cash could be placed in the American banking system, in the name of an undercover business called “Financial Consulting Inc.” Agent Mazur had opened four accounts in the Florida National Bank branch in St. Petersburg where Rita Rozansky was helping him by opening fake accounts and issuing fake letters describing good credit ratings and business worthiness of agent Mazur.

The agreed commission on these deals was 7 to 8 percent of the amount. They agreed to share this half and half. During the course of Operation C-Chase the scheme earned approximately \$1.3 million in revenues from laundered drug proceeds. The total cost of the Operation C-Chase, according to trial records, was \$900,000. Therefore, the undercover operation netted the U.S. government a profit of approximately \$400,000, aside from the generation of approximately \$1.4 billion in fines and foreclosures.

Throughout this scheme of entrapment, a U.S. Customs’ Citation jet was used to collect the illegal drug money from drug dealers in various “drop cities” and then cash currency was deposited through U.S. agents based in various cooperating banks. Funds were then wire transferred to other accounts.

During the several months’ partnership with Musella, Mora was able to increase his turnover tenfold. This was the perfect time for Mazur (Musella) to entice the BCCI into the trap.

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## **Entrapment of the BCCI**

**O**n February 11, 1987, agent Mazur introduced himself as Robert Musella to Rick Argudo, a U.S. citizen and manager of the BCCI in Tampa. At the time of introduction to Argudo, Mazur posed as a financial consultant with South American clients and accounts in Panama. Mazur told Argudo

that he needed the services of an international bank to facilitate the transfer and receipt of funds for his clients. During the BCCI trial the U.S. government claimed that Mazur just happened by chance to choose the BCCI on the High Street in Tampa.

Many people had difficulty believing Mazur's explanation that Operation C-Chase was not intended to undermine the BCCI. According to Mazur, he was sitting near the bridge in his car during a long red light, when he saw a large gold sign with a hexagonal emblem at the street level of an office building. According to Mazur, two words caught his eye: "Bank" and "International". He wondered if this was a place that could handle the transfers he needed to make. The full name on the emblem was the Bank of Credit and Commerce International.

A few days later, on February 11, 1987, Mazur made his way back to that office in the Riverside Plaza Building. Inside, he found that the facility was a representative office, which could not take deposits or perform any routine banking functions. It served solely as a marketing office or contact point for the bank with potential clients. Any business would be referred to an overseas branch or to the BCCI's agency office in Miami. The agency office could accept international deposits and perform other limited banking transactions.

The element of chance in Mazur coming across the BCCI like this has loomed too large for serious analysts, but Mazur has stuck to his story and, as usual in all entrapment cases, victims can produce nothing more than supposition to dispute it.

"Bob Mazur is the most careful person I've ever met," said John Hume, one of the defense attorneys in the later case against the BCCI. "He wouldn't go to the bathroom without preplanning it, right down to the time and place. The idea that he just wandered into the BCCI is completely implausible."



According to Mazur, Argudo was extremely helpful. Asking if Mazur thought he would need to move funds in “the opposite direction,” Argudo assured him that the bank had many clients who transfer money confidentially out of the United States to foreign accounts. During their meeting Argudo suggested that he open accounts at the BCCI in Panama for secure deposits. No evidence was presented to prove if Argudo really suggested that to Mazur. However, on presentation of some copies of corporate documents, Mazur opened an account at the BCCI in Tampa with an initial check of \$10,000.

At Argudo’s request, Mazur provided copies of the corporate records of Financial Consulting Inc. and signed a form allowing the Florida National Bank to provide the BCCI with background information on the new client. On February 19, 1987, the co-operating Florida National Bank provided an unblemished credit report and confirmed with the BCCI Tampa branch that Musella’s credit information, his (fake) Financial Consulting Inc. company, and his conduct and relationship were trustworthy, authentic, and clean.

Mazur met again with Argudo on April 3, 1987 and described several businesses and clients with whom Mazur wanted Argudo to meet. When Mazur told Argudo that his Colombian client was in the currency exchange business and that some of his clients accumulated cash in the United States, Argudo allegedly replied that this was commonly called the “black market”, and that it was not unusual for it to be used in the transfer of funds to Panama. The banker cautioned Mazur, however, that cash was an increasingly difficult commodity to move into the banking system. Deposits of \$10,000 or more are reported to the IRS, but there were ways around the system he said. It was at this point that Argudo told Mazur, “It’s the dumb people that get caught.” Interestingly, Argudo was not among those officers of the bank who were finally indicted and convicted of money laundering.

## Operation C-Chase Ends

On April 7, 1987, Mazur met Mora and told him bluntly that, in the future, business would be routed through the BCCI in Panama, which would eventually increase the profits. Mazur bragged at this stage of the entrapment process; that he had been doing business with the BCCI “for a long time”, and exaggerated his relationship with it, claiming that previously the bank had opened accounts for him all over the world. Mora listened and accepted the offer, since his earnings had already increased ten-fold without much effort. However, he suggested opening the account with a Swiss Bank rather than the BCCI, but Mazur was adamant about his proposal. This suggests that entrapment of the BCCI was planned from the beginning and was no accidental choice as Mazur had claimed.

At a lunch on April 8, 1987, Agent Mazur introduced Mora to Argudo, manager of the BCCI, and talked at length about money laundering. Agent Abreu described the occasion as of a “social nature”. This is at odds with previous meetings between Mazur and Mora. However, it is important to note that, unlike in the case of other defendants, with whom all meetings were duly taped, the U.S. government claimed not to have taped these meetings with Argudo (U.S. citizen) or David Miller (BCCI Employee and U.S. citizen). This suggests the possibility that these two employees of the BCCI may have worked for the U.S. government as inside sources, in roles similar to that of Rita Rozansky at the Florida National Bank. Additionally, in 1987 (midway through operation C-Chase) both Argudo and Miller left the BCCI and transferred into new jobs with other American banks. Even though they were involved in the conspiracy as much as other employees of the BCCI, neither of them was indicted nor charged for what they allegedly said or did. This is a further indication that they may have had an ongoing working relationship with the U.S. government.

Mazur wanted another piece in place. He contacted a Pana-

ma City lawyer, Miguel Sanchez, and created another fake Panamanian company, IDC International. Coupled with his new relationship with the BCCI, the company would put him in a position to move funds offshore directly. On August 13, 1987, David Miller helped Mazur in opening an IDC operational account in Panama. No funds from illegal proceeds had been wired through the BCCI as yet, nor had this been proposed to any BCCI employee.

On October 28, 1987, for the first time, drug-derived funds were sent to the BCCI. Agent Abreu collected \$750,000 from drug dealers in Detroit, and U.S. Customs aircraft flew the cash in two suitcases to Tampa, where it was deposited into the Florida National Bank. A corresponding amount was wired to IDC Panama for distribution by checks, without the BCCI's knowledge that the funds were illegal.

By late 1987, agent Mazur had passed approximately 2.2 million dollars through the IDC account and had split the 7-8 per cent commission profit, without telling any BCCI officer about the involvement of drugs.

On December 5, 1987, Agent Mazur met Aftab Hussain. Hussain was a junior, inexperienced account trainee at the BCCI's Panama Branch. Mazur expressed his desire to open an account at the BCCI in Luxembourg and other places in Europe.

Aftab Hussain was a junior officer, but extremely ambitious. He had obtained the job thanks to his uncle S. M. Akbar, a general manager, and wanted to make a go of it. Senior management at the bank had recently instituted a Deposit Mobilization campaign to improve its liquidity, which it desperately needed. When Mazur mentioned that he could place \$10–\$20 million, Hussain saw his chance. He initially bragged to Mazur that he was the Operations Manager.

Meanwhile, after learning from agent Abreu of another Detroit pick up, Mazur met Aftab Hussain at the BCCI's Brick-

ell Avenue, Miami branch on December 8, 1987 and told him privately of the forthcoming large transaction. Again, he failed to inform him that the funds were proceeds from the sale of illegal narcotics.

The next day, Mazur met again with Aftab Hussain to open the new account at the Panama BCCI, number M/L 306. Agent Mazur signed a letter stating that the deposit was security for any subsequent loan. Mazur said he could place between 5-20 million dollars per month.

By this time, Mora had developed a relationship with an extremely profitable client. This was Moncada—known at the time as Don Chepe—a close friend and confidant of the Colombian drug king pin Pablo Escobar. Later, in 1993, Escobar had Moncada executed in the very same cell from which Escobar escaped a couple of months later.

Agents Jose Cardo and Abreu received \$1,183,725 in cash from Don Chepe's couriers in Detroit, and after initially depositing the money at the National Bank of Detroit, with the knowledge and consent of its official, wired it to the BCCI via a false Currency Transaction Report (CTR).

This was the preferred method used by the government of the United States in most cases. Fixed deposits were made and loans were taken out against these deposits. The government, in testimony at the Senate hearing, admitted that it had a senior official at the BCCI provide it with information about the bank's business dealings.

The officer, whose identity has been kept secret to date, informed the government of how the BCCI encouraged "back-to-back loans". He also let them know at this stage that Hussain was exaggerating his position, advised them on how to meet objectives in order to deal with senior bank officers, and may have also provided the names of these individuals.

In any case, government prosecutors were aware of the fact that Amjad Awan, a senior BCCI official at the Miami branch,

dealt with General Noriega of Panama. Mazur persuaded Aftab Hussain to arrange a meeting with Amjad Awan. When Hussain told Mazur of the appointment, he was delighted. They had hit the jackpot.

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So, Aftab Hussain introduced Mazur to Amjad Awan and Akbar Bilgrami, two external market place (EMP) officers from the BCCI in charge of Latin America, on January 11, 1988. Agent Mazur told them, as he had done previously, that he wanted to open accounts with the BCCI in Luxembourg and Switzerland and place deposits there, which in turn could collateralize loans taken out at the BCCI Panama branch.

Mazur promised that he would be placing “about 5 million dollars a month.” The U.S. government offered this bait to the bank. It knew from inside sources that the BCCI was on a deposit mobilization drive, and in dire need of attracting large businesses. Moreover, up to this point, Mazur had not mentioned that his client’s funds were derived from drug trafficking.

On January 25, 1988, Mazur presented false documents to Amjad Awan and Akbar Bilgrami. These appeared to permit him to transact business on behalf of a corporation—Lamont Maxwell—for which he wanted to set up an account in Switzerland.

It should be noted that the BCCI charged Mazur a one and one-half percent differential between the cost of the loans and payment of interest for the current deposits, which was a standard fee for such international transactions. No bribes were taken from agent Mazur, nor did the bankers profit personally from these transactions.

Hussain, Awan, and Bilgrami were never told of the couriers or details of the pick-ups; nor were they ever shown cash or drugs. They never heard the name Don Chepe. They did

not know that Mora was a money launderer, and his role was never explained. At different times they were told that some of Mazur clients deal in drug money.

Earlier in February 1988, Mazur had told Awan and Bilgrami that he had a new system for holding and transacting funds through corporations purchased by his attorneys in France, Switzerland, London, and Luxembourg. The government of the United States spent about \$20,000 setting up companies through attorneys in Switzerland, recommended by the most elite of banks, Credit Suisse.

Hussain had already been indirectly told about the source of funds as early as December 1988. He was specifically instructed not to tell anyone about it because, in Mazur's words: "My clients kill people easily." Mazur also showed him newspaper cuttings of a person who had been gunned down. Hussain was shocked, as is evident from the taped transcripts of the case.

Awan was told about the source of the funds while Bilgrami was on vacation in Pakistan between February and April 1988. He was told that some of his clients were like the American industrialist Lee Iacocca, except that Iacocca sold cars and some of his clients sold drugs. Awan's response was that he was not responsible for the morals of Mazur's clients. Little did Awan know that, according to the U.S. law, he had been trapped with this statement, despite the fact that he had no knowledge of Mazur's clients. The prosecutors' team in Tampa, who were supervising Mazur's actions and statements, had laid the web of legal deception.

Having entrapped Awan, the prosecutors became ambitious: they now wanted some European BCCI executives. At this stage it is worthwhile to mention that, through the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), the U.S. government was conducting another operation known as "Polar Cap", which involved \$400 million of laundered drug proceeds. In this operation, an undercover agent had penetrated the ring of Fernando Burgos

Martinez, who was a known money launderer for the Medellín Cartel. His group handled vast sums of money for Don Chepe (Moncada), from whom Mora was getting small business in comparison. At this stage, Mazur and company hoped to divert some of these funds to the BCCI in Europe—accordingly, Mazur forced Mora to introduce him to Don Chepe’s representatives.

A meeting was thus arranged in Costa Rica, where Mazur presented the plan and requested the representative of Don Chepe to invest and launder funds through the BCCI in Europe. Contrary to Mazur’s expectations, the representative told Mazur that they had no need for the BCCI because they did not feel comfortable with this bank. They preferred to deal with the established American and European banks.

In order to get them to deal with the BCCI, Mazur bragged that he owned part of the bank, and told them that the officers of the bank would do whatever he told them to do, and at a lower cost. He also agreed to lower the transaction fee. Having convinced them to send someone to check out the bank in Europe, Mazur put pressure on Amjad Awan to arrange his meetings with the BCCI’s officers in Europe, with the promise of huge deposits.

Mazur invited Awan to Tampa where he showed off properties, which he supposedly owned, and then took him to a brokerage house in New York, which he also claimed to own. This was in order to prove the legitimacy of his business, and dilute the impact of the fact that some of his clients were possibly involved in illegal activities.

Awan arranged for meetings with the senior executives from the Banque de Commerce et de Placements (BCP) in Switzerland. Before Mazur traveled to Europe, the U.S. government arranged with the governments of the corresponding European countries to allow them to tape the conversations. England and France agreed to cooperate with the U.S. government in

its entrapment scheme for the BCCI. They may have believed it to be a legitimate undercover investigation. However, there was a hitch with Switzerland—the Swiss government would not allow tape recording, because such an approval would have destroyed the status of Switzerland as a premier banking haven. The prosecutors hoped that this problem might be resolved by the time Mazur reached Switzerland.

At the BCP in Switzerland, they hoped to meet only with Pakistani nationals, but to their astonishment they found that, in addition to the Pakistani General Manager, they were also dealing with two Swiss nationals. Entrapment of Swiss citizens was not part of the plan. The meetings in Switzerland did take place, but none were recorded and no statements were made implicating the bank or the officers in Switzerland. Operation C-Chase remained focused on its primary target: the BCCI.

On April 21, 1988, Awan told Mazur that Nazir Chinoy, a regional manager at the BCCI in Paris, and Asif Baakza, manager of the BCCI in London, could be contacted for assistance. Finally, Mazur, Abreu, and two female agents traveled to Europe. At the BCCI in Paris on May 20, 1988, they met Nazir Chinoy, the manager of the Francophone region, Sibte Hassan, a regional marketing officer, and Ian Howard, the Paris branch manager. Bankers, like most human beings, are not intuitively able to detect dishonesty. Any person with an established credit record is a potential customer. It is, therefore, unsurprising that these individuals were unable to discern the truth when a reputable American Bank provided false letters to prove the credibility of its client, thus facilitating this continuing game of entrapment.

While in Paris, Mazur opened three accounts for three different fake corporations: Nicesea Shipping Corporation, Saint Sea Shipping Ltd, and Bakevill Ltd. The latter two companies were designed to hold what purported to be Abreu and Mazur's personal funds, respectively. In reality, these contained



U.S. Treasury funds provided to Agent Mazur and others in their under-cover capacities. Detecting this level of deception is beyond the capacity of ordinary bankers who usually deal with a number of clients. A total of \$3 million in U.S. Treasury funds was wired from the Florida National Bank into the BCCI accounts.

On May 20, 1988, Mazur instructed the BCP-Geneva (the group opened a safety deposit box at the BCP-Geneva on the previous day) to transfer \$1 million into the Nicesea Shipping account. The money belonged to Don Chepe (Moncada).

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Agent Abreu took Mora to the BCCI in Paris on May 25, 1988 without an appointment, and introduced him to Hassan. The meeting took just five minutes. Hassan never saw Mora, nor had any communication with him again. Hassan never conducted or transacted any business directly for Mora at any time after that brief encounter. However, at this meeting, Mazur made a passing reference to Hassan that Mora dealt in drug funds.

Mora, who was extensively used by the U.S. government in damaging and implicating the BCCI, never deposited any funds at the BCCI Paris branch. No one ever told Hassan that the funds deposited by Mazur at in Paris were derived from the proceeds of unlawful activities, or that Mora had any connections with Mazur or his account. Yet, he was trapped because of Mazur's passing remark about the funds being from drug proceeds.

On or about May 26, 1988, Mazur introduced a representative of Don Chepe, Rodolf Ambresht, to Mr. Chinoy and Ian Howard. The representative told Mazur later on that he did not want to really deal with the "stupid bank". He said that he had millions of funds in Banco National De Paris and Dresnder Bank, where his uncle worked. However, Mazur

convinced him to keep \$1 million in Nicesea's account at the BCCI's Paris branch.

The next day, Mazur went to meet Chinoy and Howard. He lied to them that Ambresht was impressed with the bank and would place about five million dollars a month in the account. In the same conversation, he gave his famous Iacocca speech to Howard and Chinoy. Both of them were also trapped.

On May 27, 1988, Mazur went to London where he met with Asif Baakza, the Manager of the BCCI Corporate Unit in London, in order to complete account-opening forms. During that short encounter, Mazur also dangled the "Iacocca bait", thus setting him up as the next victim in the entrapment.

During the trial of the BCCI the U.S. government conceded that no BCCI banker on trial had personally gained financially from his involvement with Agent Mazur. The evidence presented showed that the BCCI staff was not paid according to number or size of deposits, or the number of subsequent loans obtained. Bonuses and yearly salary increases were not linked to the acceptance of large deposits or loans.

By the end of May 1988, Mazur, with the active involvement of the U.S. prosecutors in Tampa, had entrapped Hussain, Awan, Chinoy, Hasan, Howard, and Baakza by admitting to them in one way or another that the funds involved were from illegal proceeds. These individuals did not know that an essential requirement of a law unique to the United States had been met to indict them and charge the bank. This law states: "Anyone who knowingly deals with funds derived from illegal activities is accountable to law under money laundering statutes."

The money laundering statute was enacted by the U.S. Congress in late 1987. Previously, it was only unlawful to knowingly deal with cash funds from illegal activities. This new statute encompassed wire transferred funds also.

In early June 1988, Mazur gave Akbar Bilgrami the Iacocca

story, almost six months after he had first met him. According to the tapes, Bilgrami's reaction was nervous, and what he said can be summarized as: "We are dealing with you, a reputable businessman, with a good credit reference. We are not responsible for your customers." Soon after incriminating Bilgrami, Mazur proceeded to implicate Saad Shafi, manager in Nassau (and son of the BCCI's General Manager S. M. Shafi) and Iqbal Ashraf, the manager in Los Angeles.

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So far, the C-Chase sting operation against the BCCI had been running smoothly. However, in August 1988 the calm was shattered when Amjad Awan mentioned to Mazur that he and the bank had been subpoenaed by the U.S. Senate, regarding money laundering in general, and General Noriega of Panama in particular.

The U.S. Senate and U.S. government do not work hand in hand. The Senate had started their own investigations into the BCCI, instigated by Jack Blum, then assistant to Senator Kerry, chairman of the Senate sub-committee on Narcotics and Terrorism. Jack Blum, previously an oil lawyer, had been burned by the BCCI/Attock Oil case, in which he lost a commission of a million dollars. He had a personal axe to grind.

At this point, the U.S. government divulged Operation C-Chase to the Senate. The government requested that the Senate temporarily halt its investigations. The Senate reluctantly agreed, but the damage had been done. As a result of Senate subpoenas, Bilgrami and Awan, according to court records and tape transcripts, decided to close down Mazur's accounts. Bilgrami told Mazur: "I am going to freeze everything". The pretext used by him was that the documentation was not in order. The U.S. government became nervous. There was a chance that Bilgrami might terminate the relationship, and thus free the bank and its officers from indictment as the law states that

if a person “informs the police of the illegal relationship or himself terminates the relationship after finding out the source of funds” that person is no longer liable under the law.

Had this happened, it could have been a disaster for the government and Operation C-Chase. All the time, money, and effort involved to entrap the BCCI would have been wasted. In such a situation of clear entrapment—which is not permitted in any established legal system except in the United States of America—the question of fairness did not arise.

In late August 1988, the U.S. prosecutors, U.S. Customs staff, FBI, IRS, and US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) decided to terminate the operation as quickly as possible. Before their self-imposed deadline of October 7, it was agreed to try and quickly trap some senior BCCI personnel. Therefore, it was decided to arrest them all in Tampa, by inviting them to the staged wedding of agent Mazur.

Accordingly, Mazur once again proceeded to Europe and told Chinoy that he had decided to invest \$100m in the BCCI, but stated that, before he would make this investment, he needed to meet the top BCCI officials in London. He also invited Chinoy to his staged “wedding,” so as to provide an opportunity for Chinoy to meet the cream of Mazur’s clients. Chinoy agreed.

By this time, a total of nineteen million dollars had passed through the BCCI from the U.S. government, of which 14 million were from drug proceeds and the rest were from U.S. Treasury funds.

The original indictment for money laundering was filed against eight employees from the BCCI on October 4, 1988. The government ended the operation on October 8, 1988, when Awan, Bilgrami, Hasan, Howard, Hussain, and Mora were arrested at agent Mazur’s “wedding” in Tampa, to which they previously had been invited. Chinoy and Baakza did not come. They were later arrested in London and Los Angeles,

respectively.

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## **Romantic Escapade Becomes a Nightmare**

The arrest of the officers and the indictment of the bank received maximum media coverage. The bank was a headline grabber: the “largest money laundering bank of the world,” run by the “Pakistanis” and owned by the “Middle Easterners”. It seemed that the U.S. government hoped that the massive negative publicity would result in a substantial flight of deposits, leading to a breakdown of confidence, and resulting with the forced closure of the bank. After all, banking is an industry based on “confidence”, and when that is shattered, the business all but fails.

The bank initially decided to fight the charges and supported the implicated officers. Based on this decision, the U.S. government further increased the negative propaganda through maximum coverage in the media. Although there is no direct media control in the United States, the “mainstream” media buys the official story and version of events and rarely attempts its own investigation and analysis of the situation (as observed in the case of 9/11).

The BCCI faced a massive liquidity crisis during late ‘88 and early ‘89. Most of the depositors in North and South America removed their funds. According to sources inside the bank, total withdrawals at that time peaked at approximately four billion dollars. The bank was at the brink of collapse—the main objective of the entrapment operation.

The BCCI was the brainchild of Agha Hasan Abedi, who had dreamt, of establishing a Third World international bank since founding the United Bank Limited (UBL) of Pakistan some thirteen years previously. The BCCI was established in 1972, with a capital of 2 million dollars, largely provided by

Sheikh Zaid Bin Sultan al-Nahayan, and the Bank of America. The Bank of America needed a presence in the Middle East, and since it was unable to open branches in its own name, it hoped to penetrate this rich and growing market through the BCCI. This small outlay in the BCCI was considered a sound investment.

During the initial expansion period, Mr. Abedi depended largely on a select team of advisors from the UBL who held the key decision-making positions, while the middle management was staffed by professional, well-educated, dedicated bankers from various Third World countries, especially India and Pakistan.

However, apart from the U.S. conspiracy to entrap BCCI, there were some monumental flaws in its own management structure, which helped lead to the downfall of this giant of the banking world.

Mr. Abedi liked to control all matters of the bank in a dictatorial fashion. Even though his management philosophy outwardly stressed “decentralization” and “humanity”, it was evident, according to many former BCCI officials, that Mr. Abedi liked to be considered central in all bank matters. Whatever he professed in management conferences was, to a large extent, exactly the opposite of how things were run.

Another major factor that led to the collapse of the BCCI was a lack of support from its shareholders. Initially, in 1972, the Abu Dhabi ruling family helped to set up the bank with investment capital, and this was followed by a small number of nominal shares in the name of other Middle Eastern businessmen, all of which did not really impact the “share structure” of BCCI.

Until 1978, the growth of the shareholders’ funds had primarily come from the retained earnings of the bank, with very little from the shareholders injection. The BCCI’s unorthodox management and explosive growth resulted in the Bank of

America exerting management control over the BCCI through its officers.

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Accordingly, in 1978, the Bank of America gave notice to Mr. Abedi that it would withdraw from the BCCI. This forced Abedi to face a dilemma: he could allow the UAE family to purchase all the shares, thus lowering his position to that of an employee of the Abu Dhabi ruling family; or he could use some creative accounting to continue exercising control over the bank. Mr. Abedi decided on the latter option.

A Trust/Foundation was created in the name of the International Credit and Investment Company (Overseas) (ICIC), which was supposedly owned by the employees of the bank. The “official” story was that Sheikh Zaid had lent the money to the Foundation to purchase the share from the Bank of America.

However, accounting records show that in reality the situation was different. Funding to purchase the shares was obtained either through loans granted to Sheikh Zaid, who then in turn loaned them to the ICIC, or through loans created in false names in various BCCI branches, which were transferred to the ICIC and used to purchase shares from the Bank of America. One of the names allegedly used was that of the “Gokal family”.

In this way, Mr. Abedi controlled the ICIC, which represented 30 percent of the bank shareholding—a significantly large percentage designed to withstand any questions or meddling from the shareholders.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the BCCI required matching capital funds to sustain asset growth. These were provided mainly through retained earnings and capital funds through loans from the bank to some new shareholders, such as Kamal Adharn of Saudi Arabia and Mohammed Hammoud

from Lebanon.

Most of these shareholders were important businessmen from Middle Eastern countries, but none could exercise any control over the bank's management, because their shares were pledged to the BCCI for the loans granted to them.

Subsequently, in the early 1980s, Abedi decided to move into the United States via the purchase of large banks, such as the First American Bank, the National Bank of Georgia, and the Independence Bank. This was achieved using the same technique of nominee shareholders, and funded through the BCCI. However, by 1984, the BCCI's phenomenal growth in retail banking was coming to a halt, and could no longer provide the impetus for Mr. Abedi's lavish plans to make the BCCI the largest bank of the world.

The BCCI suffered its first financial setback in 1985, when some of its insider practices of "phony loans" and non-existing profits through the purchase and sale of "futures" came to light.

This forced the BCCI to take losses of \$150 million and resulted in the cancellation of many loans, totaling approximately \$300 million. This massive change in economic stability led to the first liquidity and confidence crisis of the bank. None of the senior managers felt capable of confronting Mr. Abedi to suggest or demand a serious and rational solution to the problem.

Instead, once again, an immense cover-up was designed. An infusion of capital was made, ostensibly in the name of the shareholders, but in reality these were loans were from the BCCI to the ICIC. This further exaggerated the liquidity problem.

By 1986, the non-performing loans and accumulated losses amounted to \$2.5 billion, wiping out the capital base of the bank. These accumulated losses were primarily due to fraudulent accounting practices, and "trading losses", but a large per-



centage was also due to unprofessional conduct of the senior management.

It is widely known that a number of senior staff took bribes from clients for approving their loans. In a number of instances, loans were granted to employees themselves through nominee companies or relatives. In the mid 1990s, Mr. Palkiwala, a former general manager of the BCCI, admitted to a grand jury in New York that he took an inducement of \$250,000 for granting a loan of \$20 million to a property company in New York.

He further stated that a number of senior officials were known to have done the same and then share the proceeds. Additionally, senior management awarded themselves hefty, tax free raises annually, in spite of the unhappy state of the bank. A. R. Sakhia, a former general manager, further confirmed this in his testimony to the U.S. Senate committee. Senior management's only solution to the liquidity problem was to increase the deposits on a grand scale. Their philosophy was that the problem would become smaller as the deposit and asset base grew in size.

Accordingly, BCCI became involved in the "flight capital" market, which invariably involved money laundering. Additionally, internal controls and budgetary mechanisms were put in place to stem the tide of losses, and a concerted effort was made to become involved in "trade financing" and "correspondent banking" in order to quickly diversify the asset base and increase the quality of the assets.

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**H**owever, in spite of all the measures introduced, the liquidity crisis was not resolved. Therefore, Mr. Abedi embarked on an ambitious plan to bring the Mahfooz family from Saudi Arabia into the shareholding of the bank.

Kahlid bin Mahfooz provided approximately \$300 million of his own funds toward the BCCI's equity, and was later grant-

ed loans by the BCCI (in excess of \$450 million) to fund his purchase of the First American Bank and other ventures. In fact, his involvement created a negative impact on the liquidity of the bank, but it was a tremendous boost to confidence. Mr. Mahfooz was subsequently inducted into the board of the BCCI.

The marriage of the BCCI and Mahfooz's National Commercial Bank (NCB) was an ingenious idea. It created a \$50 billion banking group, and had the moral and financial backing of an immensely strong group from Saudi Arabia.

With this master stroke, Abedi was able to silence the critics and conceal the liquidity crisis from the regulators. However, he did not realize that, unlike the other shareholders, Mahfooz was an independent-minded person, who liked to exert his shareholder muscle and actively involve himself at the Director level.

By 1987, the clash of personalities had reached its peak. Mahfooz wanted active involvement, or out. Unfortunately, Mr. Abedi opted for the second option. Possibly, had he allowed the active involvement of Mahfooz, the fate of the BCCI may have been different.

Sources close to the BCCI, who knew of the "clash", have suggested that all Mr. Mahfooz wanted was to replace the ineffective senior management, induct new, professional managers, close the unprofitable operations, and reduce costs.

In February of 1988, Mr. Abedi suffered a serious heart attack, which put him out of the bank for good. Mr. Swaleh Naqvi took over and was immediately confronted with the previously hidden problems. He already had his hands full when the C-Chase indictment was unveiled and the eight bank officers arrested.

Numerous incidents from the banking world can be cited to prove that the mismanagement and financial problems which existed within the BCCI were not sufficient to bring about the ultimate fate of the bank. The BCCI may have still been a successful bank today were it not for the planned scheme of the U.S. government to entrap and discard it from the elite club of the banking world. This had previously happened with a number of other financial institutions:

**Franklin National Bank of New York:** This bank was closely connected to the Vatican and other Italian interests, and was charged with similar offences to the BCCI in the early 1970s. In this case, the bank's president went to jail on charges of bribery and corruption.

**Banco Ambrosiano:** This BCCI-type, Luxembourg-based, Italian bank was also closely connected to the Vatican. It was a type of holding company, which collapsed in 1982 due to unorthodox financial practices.

However, unlike the BCCI, in this case, the bank was allowed to be restructured under the name of Nuevo Ambrosiano and the Vatican was declared blameless. The president of the bank, Mr. Calvi, was found hanged in London under mysterious circumstances.

**Banesto/Bank of Spain:** The financial problems of this Spanish bank are recent. \$6–\$8 billion was involved in fraudulent accounting techniques. A typical example of this technique was the sale of Banesto's headquarters for \$135 million to a buyer, who borrowed money from the same bank to finance the purchase, and then the bank rented back the same building at approximately triple the market rate.

**Merill Lynch:** In March, 1989, agent Mazur was again involved in an undercover operation, in which five individu-

als were arrested: two of whom were senior bankers from Merrill Lynch, the largest brokerage house in the world.

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The sorry state of the BCCI was nothing new in the history of banking: if one attempted to evaluate the balance sheet of all American banks in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the Latin American debt crisis erupted, it would show that most American banks were bankrupt, with zero equity. This was in part due to the non-payment of debts, especially by Mexico and Brazil, who together owed \$200 billion, the largest proportion of which was owed to U.S. banks such as the City Bank, the Bank of America, and the Chase Manhattan bank.

To avoid the financial crisis that would have resulted if these American banks had collapsed, the international banking authorities allowed these banks to conduct account maneuverings, similar to what the BCCI did, by allowing the banks to “roll over” the loans, thus enabling them to create further loans for the repayment of interest and principal.

Eventually, the problem was somewhat solved by the direct intervention of the U.S. government, through the floatation of the famous “Brady Bonds” and the installation of a mechanism of “debt equity swaps.” The banking authorities bent the rules as much as they could, so that the U.S. banks would survive, by slowly canceling the loans over an extended period. These banks are still doing this even now—the process is still continuing and the same technique of “window dressing” was deemed acceptable for the non-performing property loans of the same banks.

However, in the case of the BCCI, even when the UAE authorities decided to inject \$2.5 billion to reorganize the bank, international banking authorities would not permit this resurrection. Had they done so, the depositors would have been

saved.

Even as recently as the mid-1990s, the Japanese government created a “super fund” to allow Japanese banks to cancel approximately \$200 billion of property loans over an extended period. The same could have been done for the BCCI, but being a Muslim bank from the Third World, it was out of the question.

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## The Money Matters

In addition to money laundering, BCCI’s other alleged major sin was its use of “flight capital” as a main source of funds. The “flight capital” market is defined as the movement of funds from insecure areas to secure areas. America soon caught on to the idea, and the U.S. government acted to reduce its deficit, and to help New York retain its premier position as the international banking centre in the early 1980s, by creating “Bearer Bonds” and “International Banking Facilities” (IBFs). Foreign nationals could now keep their money free from taxation. Due to the full confidentiality of this mechanism, the U.S. government became actively involved in money laundering.

Additionally, to help satellite neighbors like Panama, the U.S. government created “banking havens,” which allowed the free movement of funds in Panama, Grand Cayman, and the Bahamas. U.S. banks had an active presence in the banking havens and actively encouraged flight capital and money laundering from Latin America to the U.S. To date, this has been a most lucrative business.

There are many instances of banks in the United States having been accused of money laundering, but then cleared of any charges, with only minor sanctions imposed on their officers. In the case of the BCCI, no cash was taken, no bribes were

offered or accepted, and the total amount illegally transacted through the bank was only \$19 million (including \$4 million of U.S. Treasury funds), yet the bank was fined \$20 million, and all eight of its officers were imprisoned from 3–7 years.

Ironically, very few drug-related accounts were discovered at the BCCI, but the bank was consistently called the “biggest money-laundering bank” in history.

The BCCI was particularly targeted by the U.S. government as early as the 1980s. Between 1982 and 1984, the U.S. government conducted “Operation Greenback”, which laundered approximately \$250 million through the Panamanian Banking System, with the involvement of about 20 banks, most of which were American. This was followed by another undercover operation called “Pisces” in 1985, which laundered approximately \$200 million, of which only \$12 million was passed through the BCCI.

If the evidence presented is considered in conjunction with the CIA report on the BCCI in 1984, and the indictment of General Noriega of Panama in 1987, it is evident that the U.S. government’s statement (that the presence of the BCCI in Operation C-Chase was a coincidence) appears to be a lie.

Furthermore, in his cross-examination by the defense attorney during the trial, one of the U.S. Customs agents involved in the scheme admitted by mistake that the operation to entrap the BCCI had been planned in Washington.

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## **Tortuous Trials**

**I**nitially, Mr. Naqvi, CEO of the BCCI after Mr. Abedi’s heart attack, and the Central Management Committee of the bank decided to fight the case and support the officers involved. Accordingly, the bank attorneys, Clark Clifford and Robert Altman, were asked to hire the best lawyers for the

defendants, with no expense spared. This request posed no problem to them, as Mr. Clifford himself was in the “super-lawyers’ league”, having previously served four American presidents during the course of his career.

However, some major events during the course of 1989 changed the BCCI’s mindset regarding their decision to contest the case. The bank had lost its clients’ trust, and it lost trust in its ability to win the case in the light of the unfolding events.

The most important of those events was “Operation Polar Cap” against a Colombian bank, Banco de Occidente. It was a DEA-operated, C-Chase-type operation, which involved approximately \$500 million in cash and through wire transfer. On March 29, 1989, the then U.S. Attorney General, Richard Thornburgh, announced the unsealing of an Atlanta indictment which charged Pablo Escobar, Jorge Ochoa, Gustavo Gaviria, Gerardo Moncada, and others collectively referred to as the Medellin Cartel (hereinafter referred to as the “Cartel”) with federal drug and money laundering violations. The indictment alleged that the Cartel used the Banco de Occidente (Panama) S.A., a Panamanian subsidiary of the Banco de Occidente (Cali) S.A., to aid the Cartel in laundering millions of dollars of drug proceeds. This is termed an “Orozco-Prada” theory of prosecution. This announcement was presented as the “culmination of ‘Operation Polar Cap’—a lengthy federal investigation into a billion dollar money-laundering ring with direct links to the Colombian Medellin Cartel.”

Operation Polar Cap was conducted in four phases, but unlike the BCCI, the Banco was not charged at all. Money launderer Stephen Saccoccia was convicted and sentenced to 660 years in prison and ordered to pay a fine of \$15,700,000 for laundering over \$137 million from late 1986 until his arrest in Switzerland in November 1991. In comparison, the accused bank officers in the BCCI case all served less than 10 years,

and then were freed. Moreover, the total amount laundered through Operation C-Chase was just \$19 million.<sup>18</sup>

The other event that resulted in BCCI's change of direction regarding support for its officers was that Jack Blum, representing the Senate sub-committee, wanted acknowledgement for his role in the case against the BCCI. The hearing had been reopened at the committee level with special emphasis on the relationship between the BCCI and First American Bank, whose chairman and president were Mr. Clifford and Mr. Altman, respectively.

According to Peter Truell and Larry Gurwin in their famous book, *False Profits*, (page 298) A. R. Sakia, Amir Lodhi, and Masihur Rahman, three former BCCI senior officials, cooperated with the government and revealed all kinds of of damaging information. Jack Blum subsequently started leaking this information to the *Washington Post*, the *Regardies* magazine, and the *Miami Herald*, who all, in turn, printed lengthy articles.

Incidentally, according to BCCI insiders, Mr. Sakia and Mr. Rahman were two of the senior officers who decided to resign when the bank was indicted. When they enquired about their "golden handshakes", Mr. Naqvi told them that there was nothing available. They subsequently tried to blackmail the bank and Mr. Naqvi by threatening to divulge information if they were not paid millions of dollars to remain silent. Naqvi refused to give in. The book, *False Profits*, confirms that these two individuals had provided information which the prosecutors needed to sustain and consolidate their case.

Along with details of the cover-up of fraudulent loans, the revelations by Sakia and Rahman regarding the BCCI's First American connection implicated the bank lawyers, Clifford and Altman.

Both of these events were substantial enough to cause the BCCI to change direction. The trial no longer seemed a primary concern for the bank and its lawyers.



The bank's lawyers suggested that the BCCI should consider plea-bargaining with the U.S. government, like Banco Occidente, and therefore stop further investigations. The lawyers also warned that the BCCI had little chance of winning the case, as the evidence, which had been cleverly crafted, would directly incriminate the bank.

In order to push the bank further towards this course of action, the lawyers further suggested that if the bank pleaded guilty it would increase the possibility for the defendants to win their cases—in the absence of a bank presence at the trial the defendants would have the opportunity to place all blame with the bank.

Initially the BCCI authorized the lawyers to start negotiations with the government for a plea bargain, including the defendants. However, the government prosecutors would not accept that—they were only interested in discussing a plea bargain that excluded the officers, whom they wanted to convict as a showpiece to the banking world.

On the eve of the trial, without the knowledge of the individual defendants, the lawyers on behalf of the bank entered into an agreement with the U.S. government, which allowed the bank to plead guilty and pay a fine of \$14 million. In exchange, the government allowed the bank to retain their licenses in the United States. Additionally, the bank agreed to cooperate with the U.S. government and provide full information on General Noriega, or any other drug related accounts, in exchange for immunity from future prosecution.

This complex agreement was sold by the bank's lawyers to the government on the basis that the individual defendants had acted on their own, without the knowledge of senior management. They also agreed to provide evidence against the defendants during the trial. According to BCCI insiders, Mr. Naqvi had difficulty explaining this deal within the bank—this meant, for the first time, abandoning its officers, and turning

its back on the “family” concept that was core to the bank’s culture. However, it was decided that the survival of the bank was more important than the fate of the defendants.

The U.S. government unfairly styled the money-laundering prosecution as a drug case, and introduced accusations that had nothing to do with the charges laid against the bank. For example, they did nothing to show that the BCCI or its bankers had any specific knowledge about, acted with the specific intent to promote, or were involved in any narcotics activity. However, they did imply that the BCCI had connections with Robert Alcaino, a cocaine transportation and distribution specialist, who was involved in the laundering of drug proceeds for Medellin Cartel members.

The U.S. government itself conceded during the trial that Alcaino had no connection with the owner of the funds that were directed through BCCI by U.S. agents, and that none of Alcaino’s funds were actually transferred through the BCCI. The court later struck off Alcaino’s connection to BCCI, but the intentional damage had been done.

The lawyers for the defense did the best they could. They had no support from the BCCI, and no BCCI officer was allowed to testify on behalf of the defendants. As the trial continued, the government created a media frenzy. In order to deflect potential damage, the bank hired the PR firm Hill and Knowlton, who immediately began the strategy of blaming the defendants. Mr. Clifford called Senator Orrin Hatch and ex-president Carter. Hatch portrayed Operation C-Chase as a case in which a handful of low-level employees had been engaged in money laundering, without the knowledge of their superiors, and in direct violation of the bank’s own written rules. However, this approach by the BCCI was hardly enough to save the Bank, which was always the primary target.

## Shut Down

In spite of the fact that the U.S. government had previously agreed not to prosecute the Bank, American and British banking regulators decided to act against this, and started various investigations simultaneously in London, Luxembourg, and the United States to build on the case which operation “C-Chase” had initiated.

The bank was on the defensive again. In spite of cutting costs, Mr. Naqvi was unable to control the liquidity crisis and stem the losses. The BCCI had survived the first attack, but the second, combined onslaught of the West was too much for it to handle. It seemed that the West was using a new and different strategy to shut down the bank. The bank, as a defensive measure, decided to relocate its headquarters to Abu Dhabi, along with all the documents and records pertaining to the “cover-up”. Naqvi also decided to tell all—the sad truth—to Sheikh Zaid Bin Sultan Al-Nahayan.

In the meantime, based on information provided by senior officers like Rahman and Sakia, further indictments were being prepared in United States, which showed a clear link between the First American Bank and the BCCI, thus implicating Clifford and Altman directly. Mr. Chinoy was extradited from England and, in view of all the events, he had no choice but to plead guilty and cooperate with the U.S. government. Based on this, another indictment was prepared against the bank and Swaleh Naqvi—a typical U.S method of entrapment—for allegedly directing the actions of the convicted officers in Operation C-Chase.

This new indictment stated that senior management directed the actions of lower officers during the C-Chase operation and that everything was done on their order and instructions. This, of course, was totally contradictory to the official lies told during the trial.

Ironically, on the day the bank was due to close, Mr. Mazrui, Sheikh Zaid's representative, met with Luxembourg banking authorities at 10:00 a.m. He was carrying three binders detailing the last restructuring draft and plans, which would see the BCCI reborn as the Oasis Bank of Europe and Canada, the Oasis Bank of Middle East and Asia, and the Oasis Bank of the Far East.

Before he could present the proposal, Mazrui was told that the bank was closed forever. He was stunned. The successful entrapment and closure of the BCCI ended with sighs of relief for the United States and its allies, and a deep sense of deprivation for the Third World.

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Swaleh Naqvi was then sent to face the U.S. justice system and to answer a number of charges and allegations. His extradition from the UAE to the United States in 1994 once again raised the question of why so often ambitious Westerners need not worry about some proprieties, while the same misdemeanors by citizens of Third World countries are often considered extremely serious.

Once again, the Western media thrived on the “big-bad-wolf” stories, as the FBI brought Swaleh Naqvi to face conspiracy and fraud charges in the BCCI case. Naqvi's surrender was part of a complex agreement between the UAE and the U.S. government, under which the United States dropped all the civil and criminal charges against Sheikh Zaid bin Sultan al Nahayan, and Abu Dhabi agreed to relinquish claims of \$400 million it had invested in shares in the First American Bank.

Many in the BCCI accused both Mr. Abedi and Mr. Naqvi for the BCCI's downfall, especially when Naqvi abandoned his employees in the money laundering trial by having the bank plead guilty at the eleventh hour, at the suggestion of Clifford and Altman.

This was the typical American way to blame everything on employees. However, Clifford and Altman had their own agenda—they wanted to cover up the BCCI-First American connection, so that the bank and its eight employees were thrown to the wolves.

Through an ingenious plan of conspiracy and deceit, the BCCI was put to rest. We, in the Third World, still tend to believe what we are told by the “mainstream” media. Initially, we questioned the motives, but then, as the media blitzkrieg against the BCCI intensified, we jumped on the Western bandwagon and joined them in their condemnation of the bank.

However, if we look at the events as portrayed here in their totality, the reality is quite different. The BCCI was accused of involvement in developing Pakistan’s “Islamic bomb”, financing the Afghan War, and buying influence by being involved in charitable institutions. If this was so—as they claim—it did a great service to both Pakistan and the Third World’s suffering humanity.

Agha Hasan Abedi—the central character of the whole story—was not touched by any of the Western governments that joined hands with the U.S. in their grand conspiracy against his bank. Abedi became master of the game. The BCCI barged in as a member of an elite club, to which it was neither invited, nor welcomed. Eventually, the bank was rudely removed, but in an unceremonial fashion, so as to make it an example for the rest of the Third World. Again, Agha Hasan Abedi was spared. Perhaps he knew too much—enough to damage all those who were behind Operation C-Chase.

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### **Bigger Fraud or the Biggest Set-Up**

**F**rom the afore-mentioned information, it is evident that an elaborate web was laid out to entrap the BCCI. The U.S.

agencies took active parts in drug dealing and money laundering to somehow implicate the BCCI. Disappointing, however, is the willful ignorance and blind faith of the Western media, which published biased reports and books about the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) long after the closure of the bank. Ask anyone about the BCCI and the only impression one finds in public mind is that the BCCI was the biggest fraud in banking history. No one knows the time and scope involved to complete the entrapment process as described earlier. The reason for this ignorance is the way Western media base their stories on borrowed facts.

The prosecutors of BCCI-related cases and the anti-BCCI authors did not get tired of hammering baseless accusations in pursuit of their vested interests. Together, they campaigned very hard to condemn and malign the BCCI in order to justify what their governments did to this isolated, powerful Third World institution.

There is no mention of the entrapment anywhere in the literature pertaining to the BCCI. The only repetition that we find is on the “biggest fraud in banking history.” What, after all, does the “biggest fraud” mean? Biggest in relation to what? The complexities of its mechanism, the motives, the intentions, the amounts involved, or something else? None of the propagandists have ever tried to clarify this.

Similarly, no one dares ask what is meant by “banking history?” A period of 10 years, 50 years, 100 years, or something beyond that? Presumably, it refers to the banking history of the world, which was never recorded. Has anyone ever investigated or researched it? Certainly none of those individuals who wrote 400-page anti-BCCI books and sold them for as low as \$1—and certainly none of the individuals who were part of this grand conspiracy.

Several tons of BCCI documents were gathered from the BCCI headquarters in London and other branches around

the world. These records were brought to Washington to be shown as evidence in the case against the bank. So far, not a single shred of evidence has been produced from those tons of documents to substantiate any of the allegations leveled against the BCCI in the Western press. Nobody, not even European and American journalists, has access to all these documents—documents that were supposed to be freely available on the public record and which may be sufficient to produce evidence for the acquittal of the BCCI.

Unfortunately, no one individual has the means and resources to undertake such research, or unearth what has been buried deep by the U.S. federal government. However, from the public record, we can demonstrate that the widely publicized statement that calls the BCCI “the biggest fraud of banking history” is entirely incorrect. As far as the adjective “biggest” is concerned, there are numerous cases in recent banking history where the losses and damage involved are much larger than in the case of the BCCI.

These institutions were more established than the BCCI, yet their management control badly failed. Even though they operated in much more developed markets, their allegedly fraudulent activities were more widespread and complex than those of the BCCI.

On May 7, 1997, the *Wall Street Journal* ran a headline on the front page: “Waiting to Explode: Next Economic Crisis May Stem from Woes of the World’s Banks.” There are several unanswered questions in the report referring to non-disclosure false balance sheets, collusion of regulators and auditors, and willful mismanagement. The focus of the article was the Banco Nacional of Brazil.

On May 22, 1997, the same *Wall Street Journal* that printed much of the anti-BCCI propaganda, reported on page 11: “France’s Credit Lyonnais Was Victim of Fraud until ‘93, Internal Audit Finds.” A simple comparison of the allegations

(as reported by Charles Fleming) to the BCCI case should be enough to convert all those who still believe that the BCCI was "the biggest fraud case in history" to the belief that the bank was instead a victim of the biggest entrapment scheme in the history of the U.S. government.

- In terms of bad losses, we see that, in the case of Credit Lyonnaise, the bad assets are set at \$35.3 billion. It is safe to assume that the bulk of these "bad assets" are losses, otherwise there was no need to remove them to a separate entity.

By comparison, the BCCI's bad assets, or "extra-ordinary" losses, were in the range of \$3.5–3.75 billion approximately. The term "extra-ordinary" has been used here to differentiate from the losses that every bank normally experiences in its operations. It is the extra-ordinarily large bad assets or losses, which present serious threat to the viability of a bank. In the case of the BCCI, as reflected in the above figures, it was one tenth of Credit Lyonnais' bad assets.

- According to the *Wall Street Journal*: "Credit Lyonnais was the victim of massive, organized fraud until 1993." While the report does not specify when the fraud commenced, it is reasonable to assume that it continued for a fairly long time over several years.

BCCI's losses had also persisted for a few years, without being formally and technically treated as such. The reason for this was not fraud, but a continuing search for a solution to the problem, through restructuring of its shareholding and capital base, which was achieved in 1990 via the transfer of control to the Abu Dhabi government and its associated shareholders. At that time, not only that the losses were disclosed, but the capital of the bank was substantially increased and agreements reached with the Abu



Dhabi government to fully cover the losses. The bank did not collapse. It was functioning normally, without any default on its obligations and commitments. Contrary to the propagated theory of collapse, the bank was, in fact, closed in some countries by unjustified acts of regulators.

- In the case of Credit Lyonnais, reports published in the “reliable” source of business news, the *Wall Street Journal*, state: “the investigations into Credit Lyonnais and its subsidiaries had shown how the bank’s senior management had allowed the fraud both in France and abroad.” Obviously, the continuation of such “fraud” did not include plans to improve the solvency of the bank, unlike the BCCI’s case, and eventually Credit Lyonnais had to be rescued by the French government by injection of enormous funds at the expense of taxpayers.

No such event happened at the BCCI, yet it was ruthlessly shut down.

- In Credit Lyonnais, the *Wall Street Journal* says: “the fraud was concentrated in seven subsidiaries.”

In the case of the BCCI, the accounts connected with the losses and their management were mainly concentrated in just one major subsidiary, and to a very small extent in another subsidiary. The BCCI, like any other international banking group, had 32 subsidiaries and affiliates with 450 offices worldwide. The criticized accounts existed in only four or five branch locations of the two subsidiaries.

- The *Wall Street Journal* quotes that “about five billion francs [nearly 900 million dollars] had been embezzled by bank [Credit Lyonnais] executives and businessmen with links to the bank.”

In the case of the BCCI, there was no embezzlement at all. Any funds required for the management of bad loans

were used within the bank. No allegations of illegal personal gains have been made against senior management, including those who stood trial in Abu Dhabi and in the United States.

- In the case of Credit Lyonnais, the *Wall Street Journal* quotes: "...the fraudsters operated a veritable looting, which was often hidden behind false balance sheets."

At the BCCI there was no "looting," although some headlines purposely used this term to sensationalize the commercial and financial problems of the BCCI. Allegations of "false balance sheets" against the BCCI should not be confused with "hiding and looting," or intentional "defrauding."

- At the BCCI, disclosure of extra-ordinary losses in the balance sheets was postponed as an economic necessity, and in the interest of the bank's survival, until proper arrangements were made to re-capitalize the bank and therefore take adequate care of the losses. Once this was completed in 1990, there was no need for non-disclosure of losses. However, the bank was arbitrarily closed by regulators, without allowing the bank and its shareholders complete their internal investigations.
- It is also important to note that the *Wall Street Journal's* article generously printed denials of the allegations by two executives of Credit Lyonnais.

No such opportunity or privilege has so far been extended to the BCCI and its much-demonized executives.

Furthermore, on May 22, 1997, the *Wall Street Journal* published an article on World Banks that describes the Banco Nacional S.A. thus:

In Brazil, a politically prominent family's giant bank, Banco Nacional S.A., had a negative net worth of \$7 billion

when it failed in 1995. For nearly a decade, Brazilian bank regulators say, the bank had maintained two separate ledgers. For public consumption its statements inflated equity through at least 652 false accounts that had a special computer code. The real bank ledger, known as the ‘management statement,’ told the truth. The bank was broke. The government took it over in 1995, selling good assets and sticking taxpayers with bad ones.

For the sake of comparison, the following points are important to note:

1. While it is falsely alleged that the BCCI had political motives, the Banco Nacional S.A. clearly had political aims.
2. The BCCI had losses of \$3.5 to 3.7 billion, and a capital base of \$1.2 billion. The negative net worth of the BCCI, therefore, should be put at \$2.3–\$2.5 billion, as compared to the reported negative net worth of \$7 billion for Banco Nacional.
3. It is alleged that the Banco Nacional “maintained two separate ledgers.” This was not the case at the BCCI.
4. The report states that the Banco Nacional’s statements “inflated equity through at least 652 false accounts.” The number of criticized accounts in the BCCI case was less than two dozen.
5. It is stated in the article that the Brazilian government took over the Banco Nacional in 1995, “selling good assets and sticking taxpayer with bad ones.” In the case of the BCCI, its internal management organized restructuring of shareholding and capital by transferring control to the government of Abu Dhabi and its associated shareholders, without burdening any regulator or taxpayer.

It doesn’t require a great deal of analysis to determine which one of the three banks, the Credit Lyonnais, the Banco Nacio-

nal, S.A., or the BCCI, is most eligible to be dubbed the “biggest fraud in banking history.”

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## Conclusion

Closure of the BCCI may seem legitimate but, once the facts are unfolded, the story of “the biggest fraud in banking history” may seem a little different from the story we have all heard. The BCCI is the victim of the largest conspiracy ever mounted by the Western world against a bank. Numerous incidents from the banking world can be cited to prove that the mismanagement and financial problems which existed within the BCCI were not sufficient to bring about its ultimate collapse. Indeed, the bank would likely still be functioning were it not for the meticulously planned scheme of the U.S. government to entrap and discard it from the elite club of the banking world.

Examples—including the Franklin National Bank of New York, the Banco Ambrosiano, the Banesto Bank of Spain, and Merrill Lynch—all prove that what happened to the BCCI was nothing new in the history of banking. If one attempted to evaluate the balance sheet of all American banks in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the Latin American debt crisis erupted, it would show that most American banks were bankrupt.

Equity of the U.S. banks was wiped out due to non-payment of debts, especially by Mexico and Brazil, who together owed \$200 billion, the largest proportion of which was owed to the City Bank, the Bank of America and the Chase Manhattan bank. To avoid closure of these banks, thereby creating a major crisis for the capitalist banking system, the international banking authorities allowed these financial institutions to conduct account maneuvering, enabling them to create further

loans from the repayment of interest and principal.

The same could have been possible for the BCCI. However, saving the bank via options such as “Brady Bonds,” “debt equity swaps,” or “super funds” was not on the agenda of the U.S. government, which had actively targeted the bank since the early 1980s. The BCCI survived “Operation Greenback” between 1982 and 1984, and “Pisces” in 1985, but was finally struck down in 1991 by Operation “C-Chase”.

Reinforced by opposition forces well-entrenched in seats of power, anti-BCCI propaganda is still on a war footing. How can the BCCI, as a private, independent, and now dead institution, defend itself against propaganda of a kind that can easily sweep whole governments and nations off their feet? In a world awash in prejudice, any expectations that justice will ever be realized for the BCCI are nothing more than daydreams.

Offices for justice and rights have long been replaced by the gatherings of selfish and covetous beings. One of the major sins that made the BCCI the so-called “biggest fraud in banking history” is that it was not a member of such gatherings.

After reading details from the court transcripts of the accused BCCI employees in the first part of this chapter, there remains little doubt that the BCCI was deliberately trapped by the U.S. government. This process of entrapping individuals or an organization for crimes that they did not commit has not stopped since the closure of the BCCI.

The next section discusses how Pakistan’s military intelligence agency (ISI) has already been perfectly trapped. It is just a matter of time before the U.S. government will begin “prosecuting” Pakistan because of the “crimes” of the ISI. However, the United States will not commence with this until the right time. Removal of the ISI will be of no significance compared to the original target: the existence of nuclear Pakistan as a potential Islamic state.

# The ISI and Operation 9/11

PAKISTAN has two civilian intelligence agencies and two military intelligence services. The civilian Intelligence Bureau (IB) is responsible for national police affairs and counterintelligence. In addition to police Special Branch, it reports to the interior minister and prime minister. Overshadowing them, in part because the post of IB director is now filled by an army general, are the army's directorate of Intelligence, responsible for military intelligence and the increasingly influential ISI—the Inter-Services Intelligence agency. Army intelligence now has a Corps of Intelligence, reflecting the tendency toward specialization and professionalization found in armies around the world.

The head of the ISI is a lieutenant general appointed by the

army chief, but he reports to the prime minister (when there was no prime minister, the ISI director reported to General Musharraf in his capacity as self-appointed chief executive). Approximately 80 percent of the ISI is drawn from Pakistan's three military services, and there is a small cadre of civilians; most of the ISI's officers are on deputation from the army. The ISI only emerged as an important agency during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and has remained a powerful political force ever since. It is not clear whether the rotation of officers from the army through the ISI tempers the ISI with more professional and military tendencies of the officer corps, or whether the ISI's mentality—typical of an intelligence service—has come to dominate the officer corps itself.

The ISI is responsible for foreign intelligence, which in practical terms means a dominant focus on India, but with some attention to Afghanistan, Iran, and other regional states. 1971 was a turning point in the history of the organization, with considerable expansion of its activities. Because the Bengali intelligence bureau (IB) officers could not be trusted in East Pakistan, the ISI was called upon and eventually recruited religious groups, including students, for counterinsurgency operations. Afterwards, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto substantially increased the ISI's budget—and used them in Afghanistan and to spy on domestic opponents.

During the Afghan war, the ISI grew enormously, with funding coming directly from both the United States and Saudi Arabia, and its influence and foreign contacts expanded exponentially—it also expanded its authority to include domestic matters, and it now actively attempts manipulation of political parties and various groups. During General Zia's reign, the ISI became a very powerful and influential agency. In addition to its main functions, it began to develop an interest in political developments within the country, began active participation in the political arena, and provided support to preferred groups.

It cultivated close links to the CIA in 1979-80, which enabled it to amass sizable material resources. Michael C. Pugh explains in his book, *War Economies in Regional Context*:

Approximately \$6–\$8 billion in arms was sent through the Afghan pipeline [the logistic support system arranged by the CIA and ISI]. The supply of arms and ammunition became a political currency by which external parties bought influence. The arms pipeline and the system of brokerage that underpinned it laid the foundation for the regionalized combat and shadow economies of the 1990s. Profits accumulated by commanders and traders were reinvested in the drug and cross-border smuggling economies. Already, by the mid-1980s, there was an arms pipeline going into, and a drugs pipeline coming out of, Afghanistan. According to John K. Cooley, the drug trade was encouraged by proxy backers of the Mujahideen as a ‘weapon of war’ to destabilize Soviet-controlled Afghanistan and the Central Asian republics. In 1989 the seven major Mujahideen groups were responsible for a total production of over 800 metric tons of opium. Pakistan also became a major opium producer, and by 1989 was producing a similar quantity. An immense narcotics trade developed under the CIA/ISI umbrella that went to the heart of the Pakistani state.<sup>19</sup>

What is mentioned but never explained in detail is how the CIA was involved in the financing of war with the help of proceeds from drug trade.<sup>20</sup>

Following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the ISI began to focus more on the domestic scene. In the 1990 elections it played an extremely important role in setting up an electoral alliance known as Islami Jamhoori Ithihad to counterbalance the expected victory of the Pakistan Peoples Party. The ISI works under the Chief of Army Staff, and information provided by the agency is often used to develop strategies to counter internal as well as external threats to the sitting government.

Since the days of Nawaz Sharif, the ISI has been used to ha-



rass journalists, political leaders, and other critics of the sitting regime in Islamabad. General Musharraf used it to bolster the religious parties' alliance, the *Muthabida Majlis-e-Amal*, to justify his stay in power with the argument that he is stemming the tide of “rising religious fundamentalism” in Pakistan.

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## Has the ISI Undermined Pakistan?

It has been said, proverbially, that those who sup with the devil should remain on guard and use a long spoon.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, the ISI was keeping bad company with the CIA but it was not on its guard. Even though the ISI has been bitten once, it still prefers to sup with the CIA without realizing that by doing so, it is paving the way for Pakistan to become another Afghanistan or Iraq in the very near future.

The pre-9/11 situation demonstrates that the ISI and Musharraf regime cannot be held solely responsible for the awful future awaiting Pakistan. One reason is the fact that the planners of 9/11 planned the crime so effectively that they achieved multiple objectives with one offensive strike. However, the public has yet to see the future victims of 9/11. Operation 9/11 has two sides to the story: one side involved the planning and execution of the horror; the second involved setting up someone to take the blame. Unintentional coincidences can be forgiven. However, there is clear evidence that the ISI collaborated with the planners of 9/11, a crime which is unpardonable for many reasons, including the fact that Pakistan is already paying a price for the ISI's involvement and it may soon have a much heavier price to pay.

It is an “open secret” that the ISI danced like a puppet to the tunes of the CIA and actively aided the U.S. agenda in Afghanistan. Their partnership in crime goes back to the 1980s when the ISI started a special cell of agents who used profits

from heroin production for covert actions “at the insistence of the CIA.” This cell promoted the cultivation of opium and the extraction of heroin in Pakistani and Afghan territories under Mujahideen control. The heroin was then smuggled into Soviet-controlled areas, in an attempt to turn the Soviet troops into heroin addicts. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the ISI’s heroin cell started using its network of refineries and smugglers for smuggling heroin to Western countries, and began using the money as a supplement to its legitimate economy. Were it not for these heroin dollars, Pakistan’s legitimate economy would have collapsed many years ago.<sup>22</sup> The ISI has grown so powerful on this money that “even by the shadowy standards of spy agencies, the ISI is notorious. It is commonly branded ‘a state within the state,’ or Pakistan’s ‘invisible government.’”<sup>23</sup>

Some facts regarding the ISI/CIA partnership have been made public. However, there exists evidence that links the ISI to the CIA, to U.S. government officials, and the 9/11 attacks, all of which have not properly been analyzed by the “mainstream” media. This information has been treated in exactly the same manner as all the other questions and facts surrounding 9/11: the alternative media never stops projecting, and the “mainstream” media never stops pretending that it doesn’t exist at all.

The problem with the facts relating to the ISI is that they are considered a ticking bomb for Pakistan, which the warlords in the United States can blow up at any time. Analysis of these facts gives the impression that the ISI (and Pakistan by virtue of association) is the missing 20<sup>th</sup> hijacker. The ISI (and Pakistan) entered into the trap without realizing their imminent demise. Like the man condemned to death row, all they can do now is wait.

Like the CIA, the ISI also relies on monetary contributions from private individuals, who are not staff members of the

agency. The most prominent individuals used for the financial facilitation of Operation 9/11 are Omar Saeed Sheikh (also known as “the 9/11 paymaster”) and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed.

Both these men are facing the fate of those who die daily in the world of lower-level crime. They are no more than the stooge used by powerful gangs for committing crimes, and then killed to eliminate evidence against the real culprits. The problem in this case is that neither the ISI, nor the Pakistani government, is the ultimate boss. There are powers who used and abused the ISI and Pakistan, and will consequently have to deal with them when it becomes time for the bigger plan. Moreover, for the real culprits, Operation 9/11 was not the end. It was the beginning of a game in which both the ISI and the Pakistani regime are required for completing initial quests against Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran.

The discussion of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and Omar Saeed Sheikh’s role in Operation 9/11 is covered in detail in Chapter 3. This chapter focuses on an examination of how the Chief of the ISI was used to entrap Arabs before 9/11. The following information on General Mahmood Ahmed helps put the different pieces together to see how much the ISI has put Pakistan’s future at risk with its blind pursuit to regain the golden years of collaboration with the CIA.

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### **General Mahmood Ahmed and Operation 9/11**

**T**he ISI’s Lt. General Mahmood Ahmed’s connection to the 9/11 hijackers is another “open secret”. Nevertheless, the related facts are treated like all information and questions pertaining to 9/11, which are usually ignored by the U.S. administration. **Michael Meacher, a British Member of Parliament, and a cabinet minister** in Tony Blair’s government until

2003, wrote in the *Guardian* newspaper:

Significantly, [Saeed] Sheikh is ... the man who, on the instructions of General Mahmood Ahmed, the then head of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), wired \$100,000 before the 9/11 attacks to Mohammed Atta, the lead hijacker. It is extraordinary that neither Ahmed nor Sheikh have been charged and brought to trial on this count. Why not?

**Daniel Ellsberg**, the "Pentagon Papers" whistleblower during the Nixon presidency, states in the same article:

It seems to me quite plausible that Pakistan was quite involved in [9/11] ... To say Pakistan is, to me, to say CIA because ... it's hard to say that the ISI knew something that the CIA had no knowledge of.<sup>24</sup>

The game of deception is far more complex than we can imagine. On August 6, 2001, CIA director George Tenet presented President Bush with his presidential daily briefing, a startling document titled, "Bin Laden Determined to Strike in U.S." Bush did nothing, asked for no further briefings on the issue, and returned to cutting brush at his Crawford, Texas, compound.<sup>25</sup> Does this mean that when Bush decided not to react to this important security information the CIA also decided to relax while bin Laden attacked the United States? The apparent inaction is very revealing.

Although Lt. General Mahmood Ahmed's links to Saeed Sheikh and Saeed Sheikh's link to Mohammed Atta are well-known facts from the perspective of the United States government, U.S. authorities are still uninterested in investigating these persons. This is in spite of President Bush's assertion that "if you fund a terrorist, you are a terrorist." Of course, this does not hold true for his allies, who first helped set-up the 9/11 attacks and then helped coordinate the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, which was targeted long before 9/11.

Lt. Gen. Mahmood Ahmed was forced to resign his position

once his alleged involvement in 9/11 became known. There was, however, no retaliatory bombing or invasion of Pakistan to force it to hand accomplices of the 9/11 hijackers over to the United States. There was no labeling of Pakistan as a terrorist state or a state supporting and financing terrorists. This doesn't make much sense. Perhaps there is more to this story than meets the eye, because Lt. Gen. Mahmood Ahmed had a breakfast meeting on 9/11 at the Capitol with the chairman of the House and Senate Intelligence Committees, Senator Bob Graham (D) and Representative Porter Goss (R) (a 10-year veteran of the CIA's clandestine operations wing). The meeting is said to have lasted at least until the second plane hit the WTC.<sup>26</sup>

A report to Senator Graham's staff in August 2001 stated that one of Mahmood's subordinates had told a U.S. undercover agent that the WTC would be destroyed. Randy Glass, a former felon turned government informant, later claimed that he contacted the staff of Senator Bob Graham and Representative Robert Wexler and warned them of a plan to attack the WTC, but his warnings were ignored.<sup>27</sup> Also present at the meeting were Senator John Kyl (R) and the Pakistani ambassador to the United States, Maleeha Lodhi (almost all of the people in this meeting also met in Pakistan a few weeks earlier).<sup>28</sup>

Senator Graham has said of the meeting: "We were talking about terrorism, specifically terrorism generated from Afghanistan." *The New York Times* mentioned specifically that Osama bin Laden was being discussed.<sup>29</sup> The fact that these people met at the time of the attacks is a strange coincidence. So, the ISI was sending funds to the alleged mastermind of 9/11, and the head of the ISI was having meetings with top U.S. officials with extensive experience in clandestine operations.

On May 16, 2001, Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, a career covert operative and former Navy Seal, traveled

to India on a publicized tour, while CIA Director George Tenet made a quiet visit to Pakistan to meet with the Pakistani leader Gen. Pervez Musharraf. Armitage had long and deep Pakistani intelligence connections. It would be reasonable to assume that, while in Islamabad, Tenet, in what was described as ‘an unusually long meeting,’ also met with his Pakistani counterpart, Lt. Gen. Mahmood Ahmad, head of the ISI.’<sup>30</sup>

Just one day before September 11, a Pakistani newspaper, *The News*, reported the suspicious meetings and visit exchange between the high level U.S. and Pakistani authorities:

ISI Chief Lt-Gen. [Ahmad] Mahmood’s week-long presence [immediately before 911] in Washington has triggered speculation about the agenda of his mysterious meetings at the Pentagon and National Security Council. Officially, he is on a routine visit in return to CIA Director George Tenet’s earlier visit to Islamabad. Official sources confirm that he met Tenet this week. He also held long parleys with unspecified officials at the White House and the Pentagon... What added interest to his visit is the history of such visits. Last time Ziauddin Butt, Mahmood’s predecessor, was here, during Nawaz Sharif’s government, the domestic politics turned topsy-turvy within days.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, the evidence suggests that General Mahmood was fully involved in Operation 9/11, and his involvement was used to the extent of blackmailing General Musharraf. Once the 9/11 attacks were complete and bin Laden had been framed, the United States used partial information of General Mahmood’s involvement to extract concessions from Pakistan. However, a good blackmailer always puts pressure on the weakest points last—the blackmailed individual has no option other than to keep paying, or brace for the consequences of not agreeing to the blackmailer’s demands.

The following sections describe how General Musharraf instantly surrendered and agreed to cooperate with the United States. However, this pattern of bullying has intensified in the

years since 9/11.

## The CIA/ISI Assets

**I**N the world of intelligence agencies, assets are persons within organizations or countries who provide inside information to an outside agent or agency. There are different categories of assets, including people that willingly work for a foreign government for ideological reasons, such as being against their own government. These assets may elect to work with a foreign power to change their own country because they think there is no other way to do that. These assets could be working for monetary gain. Intelligence services often pay good wages to people in important positions who are willing to betray secrets. Some of these assets are blackmailed, forced, or deceived into their roles as “intelligence assets”.

In standard CIA jargon, many criminal individuals and or-



ganizations are also categorized as “intelligence assets” when they are used for the interests of the United States.<sup>32</sup> In the words of ex-DEA agents like Michael Levine and Cellerino Castillo:

For decades, the CIA, the Pentagon, and secret organizations like Oliver North’s Enterprise have been supporting and protecting the world’s biggest drug dealers.... The Contras and some of their Central American allies ... have been documented by DEA as supplying ... at least 50 percent of our national cocaine consumption. They were the main conduit to the United States for Colombian cocaine during the 1980’s. The rest of the drug supply ... came from other CIA-supported groups, such as DFS (the Mexican CIA) ... [and] other groups and/or individuals like Manuel Noriega.<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, the *San Diego Union-Tribune* reported the following words from Rep. Robert Toricelli in 1996:

Castillo stated that together with 3 other ex-DEA agents, they were willing to testify in Congress regarding their direct knowledge of CIA involvement in international drug trafficking. Castillo estimates that approximately 75% of narcotics entered the U.S. with the acquiescence or direct participation of U.S. and foreign CIA agents.<sup>34</sup>

Another example is Oliver North and the CIA running the biggest facilitator racket in the hemisphere, thus ensuring that the CIA held the economic strings on both hemispheres’ cocaine economies.

Supporting such organizations is an integral part of U.S. foreign policy. Al-Qaeda, for example, is another front which the mainstream media helped blow out of proportion. In fact, a small group of individuals continues to this date to participate in CIA covert operations in different parts of the World in the name of al-Qaeda. There are numerous documents that prove beyond doubt the links between the intelligence assets within the so-called al-Qaeda and successive U.S. administrations.<sup>35</sup>

The CIA keeps track of its intelligence assets, and never hesitates

to drop those who have become a liability. The world had barely heard of al-Qaeda until the post-9/11 media frenzy about it as an organization.<sup>36</sup> Robin Cook argues in the Guardian newspaper that “al-Qaeda, literally ‘the database’, was originally the computer file of the thousands of Mujahideen who were recruited and trained with help from the CIA to defeat the Russians.”<sup>37</sup> Dr. Saad Al-Fagih, a surgeon at Peshawar (where the recruitment center was based) explained that creation of the al-Qaeda database was necessary to fix problems associated with a lack of documentation about the fighters who were recruited. In his words:

It’s not a secret organization at all. It was common knowledge to many people who went there. ... Al-Qaeda was public knowledge. It was a record of people who ended up in Peshawar and joined, and moved from Peshawar to Afghanistan. It was very [benign] information. A simple record of people who were there just to make the record available to bin Laden if he’s asked by any family or any friend what happened to Mr. so-and-so.

[Question] And most have now returned to their homes?

Yes. Most of them are back. Now if they want to talk about the bulk or the core of bin Laden followers, I don’t think there is any name of that group. You can very correctly and very accurately describe it as “bin Laden group.” As a small core, probably a few hundred of people who are around bin Laden. And the bulk of those are in four countries. Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia. Yemen. And Somalia. Very, very few or probably none in other countries.<sup>38</sup>

Even the BBC documentary “The Power of the Nightmares” went to great length to prove that al-Qaeda is nothing but a phantom and a convenient creation of the US administration, designed to spread fear. In an introductory report, the BBC stated: “In the past, our politicians offered us dreams of a better world. Now they promise to protect us from nightmares. The most frightening of these is the threat of an international terror network. But just as the dreams were not true, neither

are these nightmares.”<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, the Arabs in Afghanistan, who never called themselves al-Qaeda members, were fully infiltrated by the CIA and ISI during the reign of the Taliban.<sup>40</sup> In a well-led intelligence operation, the “intelligence asset” operates (wittingly or unwittingly) with some degree of autonomy in relation to its U.S. government sponsors, but ultimately it acts consistently in the interests of the United States. Besides many Afghans who were considered CIA assets from the mid-1980s,<sup>41</sup> there were also a few individuals who worked synchronously with the ISI. At the same time, these individuals had access to the Arabs in Afghanistan. They played a key role in the organization of Operation 9/11, with the active assistance of the ISI, which in turn was being dictated to by the CIA.

Before describing the role of the intelligence assets in framing Osama bin Laden, it is important to recall that the United States had been working to undermine the ISI since the Soviet withdrawal. General Hamid Gul, who was director general of the Pakistani Intelligence Services ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) and a close ally of the United States, told Arnaud de Borchgrave, United Press International editor at large, in an interview on September 14, 2001 that:

Bush senior was vice president during that entire campaign. And no sooner did he become president on Jan. 20, 1989, than he summoned an inter-agency intelligence meeting and issued an order, among several others, to clip the wings of the ISI (Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence) that had been coordinating the entire operation in Afghanistan. I know this firsthand as I was DGISI at the time (director general, ISI).<sup>42</sup>

The U.S. government actually succeeded in influencing the Pakistani government to restrict the ISI. In Hamid Gul’s view, the United States actually succeeded in “clipping” the ISI’s wings:

President Ishaq Khan, who succeeded Zia ul-Haq after his plane was blown out of the sky, wanted to appoint me chief of staff, the highest position in the Pakistani army. The U.S., which by then had clipped ISI's wings, also blocked my promotion by informing the president I was unacceptable. So I was moved to a corps commander position. As ISI director, I held the whole Mujahideen movement in the palm of my hands. We were all pro-American. But then America left us in the lurch and everything went to pieces, including Afghanistan.<sup>43</sup>

The following account demonstrates how the ISI was essential as a CIA asset once more in setting up Osama bin Laden for 9/11. It is not yet clear if the common intelligence assets of the CIA/ISI knowingly participated in the set-up or if they were just deceived into doing what the CIA actually wanted. What is obvious, however, is the fact that by playing a role for the CIA, the ISI has undermined itself as well as Pakistan. The ISI's wings were already clipped. In a bid to ingratiate itself with the CIA once more, the ISI leadership seemed to have helped the CIA entrap Pakistan.

The fallout of this involvement began immediately after 9/11, when General Musharraf announced that he had been shown sufficient evidence about the involvement of bin Laden in the 9/11 terror attacks. On the eve of Tony Blair's visit to Islamabad on October 5, Musharraf told a press conference: "I personally...and my government feels that there is evidence leading to an association between this terrorist act and Osama bin Laden."<sup>44</sup>

Pakistan's foreign affairs spokesman, Riaz Mohammad Khan, added that the 21-page dossier of evidence on the September 11 attacks given by the United States on October 3, 2001 was convincing: "We have seen the material that was provided to us by the U.S. This material certainly provides sufficient basis for indictment in a court of law."<sup>45</sup> The world has yet to see this evidence five years down the road. The fear of Ameri-

can attack and the alacrity with which General Musharraf surrendered to the irrational, illegal, and unjust demands of the U.S. after 9/11 suggest that General Musharraf may have been shown evidence of the ISI's involvement in the 9/11 operation.

The following description of the ISI and CIA assets, and the information publicly available about their role in the 9/11 operation suggests that there is much still to be learned—this hidden information might be sufficient to pave the way for turning Pakistan into another Afghanistan and Iraq.

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### Saeed Sheikh

A connection between the ISI and Saeed Sheikh surfaced when he was captured in October 1994 after kidnapping three Britons and an American. He was placed in an Indian maximum-security prison, where he remained for five years. The ISI paid a lawyer to defend him.<sup>46</sup> His supervisor was Ijaz Shah, an ISI officer.<sup>47</sup>

Interestingly, while in prison in India, Saeed Sheikh was visited nine times by a British official and a lawyer. Supposedly, the visits were to check on his living conditions, since he was a British citizen.<sup>48</sup> However, the *London Times* later claimed that British intelligence secretly offered him amnesty and the capacity to “live in London as a free man” in return for cooperation with the intelligence agencies. The *Times* claimed that he refused the offer.<sup>49</sup> Yet, after he was rescued in a hostage swap deal in 2000,<sup>50</sup> the press reported that he was freely able to return to Britain.<sup>51</sup> Does this mean he joined the ranks of intelligence assets and agreed to work for the British intelligence agencies? There is no direct evidence of this, but it is documented that he visited his parents in the United Kingdom in 2000 and again in early 2001.<sup>52</sup> He was not charged with kidnapping until some time after 9/11.

The *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* suggested that not only was Saeed Sheikh closely tied to both the ISI and al-Qaeda, but may also have been working for the CIA:

There are many in [Pakistani President] Musharraf's government who believe that Saeed Sheikh's power comes not from the ISI, but from his connections with our own CIA. The theory is that ... Saeed Sheikh was bought and paid for.<sup>53</sup>

This point demonstrates that the planner of Operation 9/11 needed individuals who could reach Osama bin Laden and who bin Laden could trust. In this regard, Saeed Sheikh was treated no differently from Mohammed Atta, who could reach bin Laden to pass on information and make him divulge it publicly. One of the core planning elements of Operation 9/11 was to implicate bin Laden before the events could actually unfold on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001.

*Vanity Fair* reported in its September 2002 edition that, after being released from prison at the end of 1999, Saeed Sheikh was given a house by the ISI. *Newsweek* (April 13, 2002) reports that he lived openly and opulently in Pakistan, even attending "swanky parties attended by senior Pakistani government officials." The U.S. authorities confirmed that he was an asset of the ISI.<sup>54</sup> An asset of the ISI means an asset of the U.S. and British authorities as well—which is why it is not amazing that he was allowed to travel freely to Britain and visit his family there. Saeed Sheikh traveled to Britain at least twice before that time, despite having kidnapped Britons and Americans in 1993 and 1994.<sup>55</sup>

*The New York Times* reported Saeed Sheikh to have worked closely with the ISI officials Ijaz Shah, Lt. Gen. Mohammed Aziz Khan, former deputy chief of the ISI, and Brigadier Abdullah.<sup>56</sup> The *Daily Telegraph* reported that Saeed helped train the 9/11 hijackers in Afghanistan.<sup>57</sup> This raises the question of how an intelligence asset of the ISI and Western intelligence

agencies could do all this without their prior knowledge and permission. Was he moonlighting for someone other than his employer—the intelligence agencies—or simply a pawn used in the 9/11 attacks?

In August of 2002, the *Daily Telegraph* also reported that Saeed Sheikh developed a secure web-based communications system for al-Qaeda. Was it a ploy to trap bin Laden, or was it a plan to deceive the agencies for whom Saeed Sheikh was working? It seems quite improbable that an individual working under the noses of Pakistani, American, and British intelligence agencies would be able to wire money to the 9/11 hijackers on several occasions<sup>58</sup> without his employers becoming suspicious.

Saying that Saeed Sheikh was working closely with the ISI and the CIA is an understatement—he frequently called the ISI director in the 12 months prior to September 11. In 2002, the French author Bernard-Henri Levy was presented with evidence by government officials in New Delhi, India, that Saeed Sheikh made repeated calls to the ISI Director Lt. Gen. Mahmood Ahmed during the summer of 2000. Later, Levy received “unofficial confirmation” from sources in Washington regarding these calls. He discovered that someone in the United Arab Emirates, using a variety of aliases, sent Mohammed Atta slightly over \$100,000 between June and September of that year. However, he also noted that there is evidence of Saeed Sheikh sending Atta \$100,000 in August 2001, so the reports could be referring to that transfer of funds, or both \$100,000 transfers could involve Mahmood Ahmed, Saeed Sheikh, and Mohammed Atta.<sup>59</sup> Dennis Lormel, director of the FBI’s financial crimes unit, has confirmed that Saeed Sheikh transferred \$100,000 to Mohammed Atta at the behest of General Mahmood Ahmed, head of the ISI, before the 9/11 attacks.<sup>60</sup>

Of note is that while other intelligence agencies began tak-

ing an interest in capturing Saeed Sheikh, the CIA and the ISI, nevertheless, remained quiet. This pattern is in line with the silence over the leaks of impending 9/11 attacks. Other European intelligence agencies repeatedly informed the U.S. about the possible attacks, but the U.S. agencies kept playing dumb. This suggests that the information may have been deliberately leaked so as to consolidate the myth that there was a link between al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, and the 9/11 attacks.

British intelligence asked India for legal assistance in catching Saeed Sheikh sometime during August 2001. On September 23, 2001, it was revealed, without explanation, that British intelligence had again asked India for help in finding Saeed.<sup>61</sup> Saeed Sheikh's role in "training the hijackers" and "financing" the 9/11 attacks soon became part of the news reports from both the United States and the U.K.<sup>62</sup>

Further evidence that suggests that the U.S. had prior knowledge of the 9/11 attacks is based on the fact that, on October 12, 2001, the United States froze the assets of Jaish-e-Mohammed, a religious group in Pakistan, because it was alleged to be a terrorist organization with links to Saeed Sheikh.<sup>63</sup> What makes this somewhat suspicious is the speed of U.S. reaction after the 9/11 attacks to declare Jaish-e-Mohammed a terrorist outfit, but its continued lack of interest in Saeed Sheikh. The United States did not put pressure on Pakistan about Saeed Sheikh, presumably because of his relationship with the ISI. The silence continued despite the fact that in October, an Indian magazine noted "Curiously, there seems to have been little international pressure on Pakistan to hand [Saeed] over"<sup>64</sup>, and the U.S. did not formally ask Pakistan for help to find—not arrest and extradite—Saeed until February 2002.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, American and British news sources kept proving Saeed Sheikh was a known financial manager for Osama bin Laden.<sup>66</sup>

French author Bernard-Henri Levy claims to know an anonymous manager at a United Arab Emirates bank in Dubai, who



gives him astute and accurate tips on Arab banking. An al-Qa-eda agent using the alias Mustafa Ahmad was captured by a surveillance camera entering the Bank of Dubai on September 10 to pick up money sent by Mohammed Atta in the previous days, but this video footage has never been publicly released. Levy and others argue that Mustafa Ahmad and Saeed Sheikh are one and the same.<sup>67</sup>

Supping with the devil without that long spoon has already resulted in blame being apportioned to the ISI for hiding Osama bin Laden. Some reports indicate that after the defeat of the Taliban in Afghanistan, Saeed acted as a go-between for bin Laden and the ISI, which was seeking to hide bin Laden.<sup>68</sup> He also helped produce a video of a bin Laden interview.<sup>69</sup>

A U.S. grand jury secretly indicted Saeed Sheikh for his role in the 1994 kidnapping of an American. The indictment was revealed in late February 2002. The United States later claimed it began asking Pakistan for help in arresting and extraditing Saeed in late November 2001.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, Saeed was seen partying with Pakistani government officials well into January 2002. The *Los Angeles Times* later reported that Saeed “move[d] about Pakistan without apparent impediments from authorities” up until February 5, when he was identified as a suspect in the Daniel Pearl kidnapping.<sup>71</sup> Saeed Sheikh’s time as a pawn and double agent was up.<sup>72</sup> The *London Times* reported: “It is inconceivable that the Pakistani authorities did not know where he was” before then.<sup>73</sup>

Interestingly, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Daniel Pearl was kidnapped while investigating the ISI’s connection to different “militant” groups.<sup>74</sup> Saeed Sheikh was later convicted as the mastermind of Daniel Pearl’s kidnapping. The *Guardian* suggested that Pearl must have been under ISI surveillance at the time of his kidnapping. “Any western journalist visiting Pakistan is routinely watched and followed. The notion that Daniel Pearl, setting up contacts with extremist groups, was

not being carefully monitored by the Secret Services is unbelievable—and nobody in Pakistan believes it.”<sup>75</sup> Al-Qaeda was instantly blamed for the kidnapping, but the question is: Was Pearl dangerously close to discovering who planned 9/11? Was he about to expose what General Musharraf and General Mahmood are too afraid to tell?

At this stage, both CNN and *Time* magazine reported that another asset of the ISI was involved in Daniel Pearl’s kidnapping. The overall mastermind behind the kidnapping was presented to be Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, also alleged to have been the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks.<sup>76</sup> The bizarre demands from Daniel Pearl’s kidnapers deepened the suspicion. The kidnapers called themselves “The National Movement for the Restoration of Pakistani Sovereignty,” a previously unheard of group. Their demands included the return of U.S.-held Pakistani prisoners and the departure of U.S. journalists from Pakistan.<sup>77</sup> Most unusual, they demanded that the United States sell F-16 fighter planes to Pakistan. No group had ever shown interest in the F-16s. *The Guardian* reported that this demand and the others reflected the desires of Pakistan’s military and the ISI to obtain the fighter planes.<sup>78</sup> On January 29, 2002, it was reported that U.S. intelligence believed the kidnapers to have been connected to the ISI.<sup>79</sup> Some captured kidnapers later claimed that the ISI asset, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, was the man who cut Pearl’s throat.<sup>80</sup>

*Time* magazine (February 3, 2003) confirmed that Khalid Sheikh actually killed Daniel Pearl. However, Saeed Sheikh became the scapegoat because Khalid Sheikh could not become a liability just yet. Otherwise, the conclusions from *Time* are very clear:

Now Pakistani police sources tell *Time* that at least one witness says Pearl’s throat was slit by a top al-Qaeda terrorist, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed... Fazal Karim has identified Mohammed as the man who drew the knife across Pearl’s throat, two men who participated in Karim’s interrogation

tell *Time*. Karim's testimony may weaken the government's case that [Omar] Saeed [Sheikh] was both ringleader of the plot and Pearl's executioner... Despite this fresh evidence, Pakistani police working on the Pearl case noticed a distinct cooling in their superiors' interest...<sup>81</sup>

Within a month of this embarrassment for the British, Pakistani, and American governments, Khalid Sheikh was reported to have been arrested under circumstances described by many journalists and analysts as fabricated. The question is, why did Pakistan and the United States still want British citizen Omar Sheikh to be executed for the murder of Pearl—a crime, which evidence suggests, he did not commit? And why are these countries and the U.K. not insisting that Khalid Sheikh be tried for his alleged involvement in 9/11? The bigger question still remains: what of the ISI's involvement and its consequences for Pakistan? When it is time for Pakistan to face the same fate as Afghanistan and Iraq, when Musharraf falls from grace like Saddam Hussain did, and when the ISI becomes a liability, the consequences of ISI's relationship with the CIA will become apparent. If these issues are examined from the perspective of 9/11, this analysis will help determine just how much Britain, Pakistan, and the United States knew in advance of the 9/11 attacks. This might also provide some insight on the true nature of the so-called 'war on terrorism'.

In 1993, U.S. agents discovered photographs showing Khalid Sheikh Mohammed with close associates of future Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The *Financial Times* later noted that Mohammed and his allies "must have felt confident that their ties to senior Pakistani Islamists, whose power had been cemented within the country's intelligence service [the ISI], would prove invaluable."<sup>82</sup> Also in 1993, Khalid Mohammed was involved in an operation to assassinate Benazir Bhutto, then prime minister of Pakistan (and an opponent of Sharif and the ISI).<sup>83</sup> The *Los Angeles Times* later reported that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed "spent most of the 1990s in Pakistan. Pak-

istani leadership through the 1990s sympathized with Osama bin Laden's fundamentalist rhetoric. This sympathy allowed Mohammed to operate as he pleased in Pakistan."<sup>84</sup>

In the case of Daniel Pearl, Pakistani police and the FBI rounded up about ten of Saeed Sheikh's relatives and threatened to harm them unless he turned himself in. This was in response to intense pressure from the U.S. government. Saeed Sheikh did turn himself in, but to Ijaz Shah, his former ISI boss.<sup>85</sup> The ISI held Saeed for a week, but failed to tell Pakistani police or anyone else that they had him. This "missing week" is the cause of much speculation. The ISI never told Pakistani police any details about this week.<sup>86</sup>

Saeed later refused to discuss this week or his connection to the ISI. His refusal to talk was tantamount to admitting that he had been threatened by the ISI—he kept saying: "I will not discuss this subject. I do not want my family to be killed." He added, "I know people in the government and they know me and my work."<sup>87</sup>

Interestingly, it has been suggested that the ISI held Saeed for one week to ensure that Daniel Pearl would be killed. Saeed later said that during this week he got a coded message from the kidnappers that Pearl had been murdered. *Newsweek* speculates that this time might have been spent working out a deal with the ISI over what Saeed would admit to the police and the public.<sup>88</sup>

The suggestion that Musharraf, the ISI, and Pakistan are all still functioning, albeit with time running out, is evidenced by the way the Western media completely ignores the known links between Saeed Sheikh, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the ISI, the CIA, and the 9/11 attacks on the United States. According to analysis by an American web site engaged in presenting the timeline of 9/11 events, in the months following the attacks at least 12 Western media news articles mentioned Saeed's links to al-Qaeda,<sup>89</sup> including his financing of 9/11.<sup>90</sup>

At least 16 articles mentioned his links to the ISI.<sup>91</sup> However, many other articles failed to mention either link. Only a few articles considered that Saeed could have been connected to both groups at the same time,<sup>92</sup> and apparently, only one of these mentioned that he could be involved in the ISI, al-Qaeda, and the financing of 9/11.<sup>93</sup>

By the time Saeed was convicted of Pearl's murder in July 2002, his possible connections to al-Qaeda and/or the ISI were virtually unreported in the U.S. newspapers, while many British newspapers still made one or the other connection. This suggests that the controlling forces in charge of the ISI [and Pakistan] are not ready to give them up just yet. Recently, *The Washington Times* presented Pakistan as a faithful dog, serving the United States.<sup>94</sup> The moment these forces decide to turn their guns upon Pakistan, these same links will be exaggerated, denounced, and the currently silent "mainstream" media will become a tool for hounding Pakistan to its grave. *The Washington Post* has already declared: "The [ISI] is a house of horrors waiting to break open. Saeed has tales to tell."<sup>95</sup>

When the time is up for Pakistan, the Washington loyalists in Musharraf's regime will be unable to control the chain of events. A clue to this is the failure of the Pakistani government to stop the Pakistani newspaper, *The News*, from publishing a story revealing Saeed Sheikh's connections to the ISI, based on leaks from Pakistani police interrogations.<sup>96</sup> According to the article, Saeed admitted his involvement in attacks on the Indian parliament in Delhi and in Kashmir, and said the ISI had helped him finance, plan, and execute them.<sup>97</sup> On March 1, the ISI put pressure on *The News* to fire the four journalists who worked on the story. The ISI also demanded an apology from the newspaper's editor, who instead fled the country.<sup>98</sup>

To conceal the United States' involvement, Secretary of State Powell ruled out any links between "elements of the ISI"

and the murderers of reporter Daniel Pearl.<sup>99</sup> *The Guardian* later called Powell's comment "shocking," given the overwhelming evidence that the main suspect, Saeed Sheikh, worked for the ISI.<sup>100</sup> Saeed could not serve two masters at once. When he transferred funds to Atta in the United States, this was as much at the instruction of the ISI as were his other actions. Interestingly, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld had called Saeed a possible "asset" for the ISI only a week before Powell's statement.<sup>101</sup>

The most interesting aspect of the unfolding drama was the moment when General Pervez Musharraf said that Saeed Sheikh, chief suspect in the murder of reporter Daniel Pearl, would not be extradited to the United States, at least not until after he had been tried by Pakistan.<sup>102</sup> This flies in the face of normal procedure, where the Musharraf regime has sent dozens of suspects overnight to the United States, without waiting to charge them in Pakistan. Contrary to the normal routine, the U.S. ambassador reported to Washington that Musharraf privately said, "I'd rather hang him myself" than extradite Saeed.<sup>103</sup> Musharraf even brazenly stated, "Perhaps Daniel Pearl was over-intrusive. A media person should be aware of the dangers of getting into dangerous areas. Unfortunately, he got over-involved."<sup>104</sup> He also said Pearl was caught up in "intelligence games."<sup>105</sup> In early April, Musharraf apparently said he wanted to see Saeed sentenced to death. Defense lawyers were appalled, saying Musharraf was effectively telling the courts what to do.<sup>106</sup> Astonishingly, his appeal against the sentence was adjourned in July 2005 for the 32nd time and has since been adjourned indefinitely.

The reason Musharraf was so unashamedly vocal on the subject of Saeed was that Washington did not want the secrets behind Operation 9/11 to be exposed. According to *Gulf News* (March 25, 2002):

It is... rumored that [murdered Wall Street Journalist Daniel]

Pearl was in fact especially interested in any role played by the U.S. in training the ISI [Pakistan's secret intelligence service] or backing it in any way... Details of any U.S./ISI cooperation would of course not be appreciated even in Washington, especially regarding U.S. cooperation in promoting any kind of Islamic militancy.<sup>107</sup>

That is why Musharraf's regime was so boldly taking steps to convict and remove Saeed from the scene. *The Washington Post* reported in early March 2002 that Pakistani "police alternately fabricate and destroy evidence, depending on pressure from above."<sup>108</sup> These facts lead us back to the same question: How far did Daniel Pearl go in exposing the cover-ups in which the ISI actively helped the real culprits behind Operation 9/11?

The statements that Daniel Pearl had been caught up in "intelligence games" and had ventured into "dangerous areas" are probably true, based on the proceedings of the second U.S. criminal indictment of Saeed Sheikh for his role in the kidnapping and murder of the Wall Street journalist. The amount of background information given about Saeed is very brief, with only scant reference to his involvement with an Islamic militant group. It briefly mentions that he fought in Afghanistan with al-Qaeda in September and October of 2001. Neither the indictment nor Ashcroft mentioned Saeed's financing of the 9/11 attacks, and no reporters asked Ashcroft about this either.<sup>109</sup> So, the major pieces of the game are all safe so far, while the pawns start to slowly fall.

Saeed Sheik was sentenced to death in July 2005. At that time, every major U.S. media story failed to report Saeed's connections to 9/11 and even to the ISI.<sup>110</sup> In contrast, the British media connected Saeed to the ISI,<sup>111</sup> al-Qaeda,<sup>112</sup> the 9/11 attacks,<sup>113</sup> or some combination of the three<sup>114</sup> (with one exception being the BBC).<sup>115</sup> The U.S. and British governments both approved of the verdict—they no longer required information from this high value asset: the financial manager

of al-Qaeda, but simply a pawn in Operation 9/11.<sup>116</sup> In the United States, only the *Washington Post* questioned the justice of the verdict.<sup>117</sup> In contrast, all the British newspapers questioned the verdict, and subsequently raised additional questions concerning it.

After the trial of Saeed Sheikh, Pakistani officials admitted that the key testimony of a taxi driver was doubtful. The “taxi driver” turned out to be a head constable.<sup>118</sup> One of the co-defendants turned out to be working for the Special Branch.<sup>119</sup>

According to Pakistani law, the trial needed to be completed in a week, but in fact, it took three months. The trial judge and the venue were changed three times.<sup>120</sup> The trial was held in a bunker underneath a prison, and no reporters were allowed to attend. When all the appeals were exhausted it was doubtful that Saeed would be extradited to the United States, “because Mr. Sheikh might tell the Americans about the links between al-Qaeda and Pakistan’s own intelligence organization.”<sup>121</sup> Meanwhile, at least seven more suspects remained at large. All had ties to the ISI and, as one investigator remarked, “It seems inconceivable that there isn’t someone in the ISI who knows where they’re hiding.”<sup>122</sup>

The U.S. government and its agencies, which has often been seen as all too willing to use torture techniques to extract valuable information from captured suspects, did not even feel the need to interrogate Saeed Sheikh.

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## **Khalid Sheikh Mohammed**

Saeed Sheikh was closely linked to Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who recently made headlines in the United States in connection with another 9/11 related trial.<sup>123</sup> Sheikh Mohammed’s closer associations with the ISI than with bin Laden are evident from this statement in the *Los Angeles Times* report:



“[Sheikh] Mohammed stated that he was usually compelled to do whatever Bin Laden wanted with respect to operatives for the September 11 operation,’ the interrogation summary states. ‘That said, [Sheikh] Mohammed noted that he disobeyed Bin Laden on several occasions by taking operatives assigned to him by Bin Laden and using them how he best saw fit.’ His independence from Bin Laden had its limits, however, because it was al-Qaeda’s money and operatives that enabled the plot to go forward.”<sup>124</sup>

The fact that most of the hijackers and even Khalid Sheikh Mohammed were living a non-religious life proves that they were simply agents—intelligence assets—working for others without religious motivation for their deeds. The alleged 9/11 mastermind, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, lived in the Philippines for a year, supposedly planning Operation Bojinka until the plot was exposed in January 1995 and he was forced to flee. Police later disclosed that he lived a very expensive and non-religious lifestyle. He went to karaoke bars and go-go clubs, dated go-go dancers, stayed in four-star hotels: all signs of a secular lifestyle. Similarly, the lifestyle of the alleged hijackers—actually intelligence agents working with the U.S. authorities—also proves that they were not religious fanatics or radicals bent upon sacrificing their lives for Islam. Just days before 9/11, Atta and Marwan al-Shehhi (another of the alleged suicide pilots) spent the evening drinking heavily in a bar in Fort Lauderdale. The bar’s manager later told reporters that the men “got wasted,” drinking “Stolichnaya and orange juice, and Captain Morgan’s spiced rum and Coke.” Bartender Patricia Idrissi concurred, saying: “Atta drank Stoli vodka for three straight hours. They were wasted.”<sup>125</sup>

Amanda Keller described a typical night out at a club with Atta: “Marwan [al-Shehhi] was in the reggae room drinking with a bunch of women at the bar, there were a lot of women around him, and he was just flaunting money.” As Hopsicker

points out: “It’s one thing to hear Atta described as living it up with wine, women, and song. But Marwan flaunting money at the bar pretty much puts the lie to the ‘Islamic fundamentalist’ tag.”<sup>126</sup> So much for the “Islamic fundamentalists” who hated the American “way of life” and were ready to give their life in a global Jihad against the United States.

Khalid Sheikh once rented a helicopter just to fly it past the window of a girlfriend’s office in an attempt to impress her. This hedonistic behavior seemed to characterize much of how he chose to live; for instance, in 1998 it was reported that he had hosted a big drinking party.<sup>127</sup>

By this time officials believed Khalid’s obvious access to large sums of money indicated that a larger network was backing him.<sup>128</sup> It was suggested that Khalid Sheikh was able “to operate as he pleased in Pakistan” during the 1990s,<sup>129</sup> and that he was linked to the Pakistani ISI.

Robert Fisk reported in the *Independent* newspaper that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was an ISI asset.<sup>130</sup> He wrote: “Mr. Mohammed was an ISI asset; indeed, anyone who is handed over by the ISI these days is almost certainly a former (or present) employee of the Pakistani agency, whose control of Taliban operatives amazed even the Pakistani government during the years before 2001.”<sup>131</sup>

Even the ISI was not sure if Khalid had started working with the CIA. After his arrest in 2003, the *Sunday Times* wrote: “For two days Khalid remained in Pakistani custody, interrogated by agents of the ISI, the military intelligence service—whose attitude to al-Qaeda and the Taliban has long ranged from the supportive to the ambiguous. Suspicious that he had already sold out to the Americans, they initially accused him of being a double agent.”<sup>132</sup>

Those who are unaware of the way in which the ISI and CIA function cannot conclude with certainty what actual roles Saeed Sheikh and Khalid Mohammed were playing in both

these intelligence agencies and for the Arabs in Afghanistan. Despite reaching the conclusion that Khalid Mohammed was the actual executioner of her husband, Mariane Pearl, wife of the murdered Wall Street journalist, could not say with certainty if justice would be done:

...while Omar may have been our original target [in our search for Danny], in truth he's just one in a massively complicated chain... ultimately he is a tool. But whose? It's become clear that Omar doesn't know where Danny is. That's never been his role. He was the lure; others are the captors... who is overseeing it all? Who pulls the strings?... We already knew about the first cell, that of Omar Saeed Sheikh and his three accomplices... Eventually there were four convictions. Adil, Suleiman, and Fahad were found guilty and sentenced to life in jail. Omar Saeed Sheikh: death by hanging... Memon was the person who authorities believe brought 'the three Arabs' who, we came to learn, comprised the third cell—the cell which did the actual killing... One of the arrested Pakistanis from cell number two has claimed that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the third-highest ranking member of al-Qaeda, was not only one of the Arabic speakers but was the actual executioner [of Danny]. Mohammed was arrested on March 1, 2003, in Rawalpindi, and as of this writing is... 'a guest' of the CIA, being held at an undisclosed location...<sup>133</sup>

Just as in the case of Saeed Sheikh, Pakistan showed signs of reluctance in handing Khalid Sheikh over to the U.S. authorities, despite the media campaign in the United States that he was the planner of the 9/11 attacks. On March 3, 2003, the BBC reported: "Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the suspected planner of the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States, was arrested in a joint Pakistani-CIA operation near the capital, Islamabad, and is now in Pakistani police custody. 'We have no plans to hand him over to the Americans,' Pakistani Interior Minister Faisal Saleh Hayat told the BBC, suggesting that he might be handed over to Kuwait, his country of origin."<sup>134</sup> These are the only two high profile cases in which

the Musharraf regime has very obviously dragged its feet on handing over the accused to U.S. authorities. Interestingly, the United States also did not show much enthusiasm.

In fact, the whole drama of Khalid Sheikh's arrest was clearly staged. The ISI then proceeded with a press conference, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, to announce his capture. Reuters reported the event like this:

On Monday, the powerful military Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) held an unprecedented news conference to show foreign journalists what it said were images of a March 1 raid in Rawalpindi that netted al-Qaeda kingpin Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. But few of the journalists present were convinced the video—which did not show Mohammed's face nor any sign of a struggle—was genuine. Many said it looked like a crude reconstruction... The ISI earlier said it had called its first news conference in Pakistan's history to counter criticism in the Western media that it had not done enough in the war on terror... [Lieutenant-General Hamid] Gul, said the raid may have been staged—and news of the arrest leaked—for the same reason... Gul, who ran the ISI from 1987 to 1989, said the raid was conducted in far too casual a fashion to have been real, with police failing to properly surround or secure the house in a middle-class Rawalpindi suburb... Relatives of Ahmed Qudus, the son of the house owner, have maintained he was the only man in the house at the time of the raid. Neighbors said they heard no sound of gunfire—contradicting the official account, which maintains that Mohammed shot one intelligence agent in the foot with an AK-47 rifle. Within hours, news of the raid and arrest was leaked to foreign news agencies, something Gul also found incredible. 'He has to be questioned, before you present him to the public eye,' he said. 'You don't present news like that.'... Many journalists were unconvinced as a calm cameraman shone his lights on the raiding party, and followed agents as they casually broke into the compound and the house, and walked up the stairs. There was no sign of a struggle—or of any urgency. The cameramen then focused on the back and neck of the man

officials said was Mohammed, before the man was swiftly hooded. The video has not been released to the media for broadcast.<sup>135</sup>

The *Sunday Times* questioned the FBI story on the arrest: “While there is no doubting the huge importance of the capture of Khalid Sheikh, last week’s raid does leave many unanswered questions... The Qadoos family point to the photo of Khalid released by Pakistani authorities, purportedly showing him under arrest in the house, looking fat and dazed in a baggy vest as he stands against a wall of peeling paint. A thorough search of the house shows there is no such wall.”<sup>136</sup>

This fake drama was so appreciated by the U.S. government to the extent that the head of the congressional intelligence committee described it as “akin to the liberation of Paris from Nazi occupation.”<sup>137</sup> The *Guardian* report goes on to say that the official story of Khalid Sheikh’s arrest “appears to be almost entirely fictional... according to another family member Mohammed was not in the house; nor did the intelligence officers who kicked the door in even ask for him. They claim Mohammed must have been detained elsewhere and that the raid on the Rawalpindi house was a smokescreen. After several denials, it was admitted by the Pakistani authorities that Mohammed had been removed from Pakistan by U.S. authorities. The Rawalpindi police admitted that they had neither participated in the raid nor known about it... One of the heinous acts attributed to Mohammed is the murder of Daniel Pearl. According to intelligence briefings, his was the hand that cut Pearl’s throat, a murder for which the British-born militant Omar Saeed Sheikh has already been sentenced to death in Pakistan.”<sup>138</sup>

This shows that both Saeed Sheikh and Khalid Sheikh were involved with both the ISI and U.S. authorities before the staged arrest. His arrest was staged to claim a much-needed victory in the war on terror. However, at the same time,

his services may have been required in the absence of Saeed Sheikh. Because of this, he was neither handed over to Pakistani police for trial, nor was he sent to Guantanamo Bay like others. The *Sunday Times* reported: “Hamid Mir, one of the few journalists to have interviewed Bin Laden on several occasions... ‘I think this arrest will become very controversial,’ he predicted, suggesting that Khalid had been co-operating with the Americans for some time.”<sup>139</sup>

The manner in which Khalid Sheikh and Saeed Sheikh were treated demonstrates that the CIA and ISI have a very complex and deep relationship, which goes beyond the realm of international “cooperation”. There are reports which state that the CIA was informed about Khalid Sheikh’s interest in hijacking planes but no that they chose to take no action:

The ex-police chief told [CIA veteran and terrorism expert Robert] Baer that [Khalid Sheikh] Mohammed ‘is going to hijack some planes.’ The ex-police chief said his basis for this was evidence developed by police and Qatari intelligence... Baer sent this information [before 911] to a friend in the CIA Counter-terrorist Center who forwarded the information to his superiors. Baer heard nothing. ‘There was no interest,’ he said... After Pearl’s murder [for which Omar Sheikh has been unfairly tried and convicted], Baer said, he took his information about Mohammed to the Justice Department, but again, as with the agency, he never received a call nor did the department express any interest.<sup>140</sup>

These tips to the CIA would appear to be information of which they were already aware. Both the CIA and its partner, the ISI, have too much to hide. That is why the authorities in Pakistan and the United States were scared of producing Khalid Sheikh and Saeed Sheikh in public, despite reports that Khalid Sheikh was involved in Pearl’s murder and that the ISI had close links with him.

United Press International reported on September 30, 2002:

Baer said that he believes it was Mohammed who had Pearl killed. 'I have heard from (intelligence) people who follow this closely that it was people close to Mohammad that killed him, if it wasn't Mohammed himself,' he said... The director of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare, Josef Bodansky, told UPI emphatically, 'Mohammed was Pearl's killer. An Algerian actually did the job, but Mohammed gave the order for the killing. There's no question about it,' he said. Bodansky said Mohammed also has ties to Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence agency, which he said had acted to shield him in the past. 'Mohammed was running operations right in Karachi,' said Bodansky. Bodansky would not reveal his sources of information.<sup>141</sup>

This information is just the tip of the iceberg. Khalid Sheikh has been kept in a secret location and Saeed Sheikh was not publicly tried—under the pretext that it would jeopardize national security. Producing them in court may not have jeopardized the national security of any country, but would definitely have resulted in exposure of the elements controlling their activities, including the planners of Operation 9/11. This would have compromised the Bush administration and its close allies, such as General Musharraf. What Khalid and Saeed knew was too much for the authorities to allow it to go public. This is evident from an April, 2004 report in the *Globe and Mail*:

U.S. officials and insurance companies representing victims of the Sept. 11, 2001 terror attacks are locked in an unusual legal standoff, stemming from the government's refusal to admit it has the alleged mastermind of the attacks in custody. The insurance companies want the U.S. Justice Department to serve summonses and complaints on Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and other militants named as defendants in a lawsuit in federal court in New York City. But U.S. authorities said they have never officially acknowledged holding the men... A spokesman for the U.S. attorney's office declined Friday to discuss the case.<sup>142</sup>

Statements attributed to Khalid Sheikh were used in Zacarias Moussaoui's case and select and tailored portions of it ap-

peared in the *Los Angeles Times* (April 5, 2006) and other newspapers. However, the government refused to make Khalid Sheikh publicly testify due to the “national security” risk:

A U.S. appeals court Thursday said Zacarias Moussaoui, the only person charged in the September 11, 2001 attacks, must have access to information from suspected al-Qaeda leaders, but not the men themselves. The Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond, Virginia, ordered trial Judge Leonie Brinkema to find a way for Moussaoui to present an adequate defense without having the al-Qaeda members appear in court to testify, agreeing with U.S. authorities who said that would harm national security.<sup>143</sup>

Reuters reported on April 22, 2004 that Moussaoui requested to question Khalid Sheikh and two other persons, but the U.S. government refused. U.S. Attorney John Ashcroft insisted that, despite denying Moussaoui a chance to question the detained “terrorists,” the trial will be fair:

The U.S. government won a key round in its case against accused Sept. 11 conspirator Zacarias Moussaoui on Thursday when a court ruled it could bar his lawyers from questioning three top al-Qaeda operatives.... Moussaoui, 35, a French citizen of Moroccan descent, is the only person charged in the United States in connection with the attacks that killed approximately 3,000 people. U.S. Attorney John Ashcroft said the appeals court ruling upheld the government’s core position. ‘The court held that the government can provide Zacarias Moussaoui with a fair trial while still protecting critical national security interests,’ Ashcroft said in a statement. ‘The government will not be required to provide Moussaoui with interactive access to detained terrorists. This ruling also allows us to seek the death penalty, and to present evidence regarding the conspiracy of the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks,’ he said. Moussaoui had wanted to question Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the accused mastermind of the Sept. 11 attacks; Mustafa Ahmed al-Hawsawi, viewed as one of the financiers of the hijackings; and Ramzi bin al-Shaibah, the man suspected of coordinating them. The three have been



captured and are being held and interrogated overseas by the United States.<sup>144</sup>

Furthermore, the U.S. government also refused a request from a German court which wanted Khalid Sheikh Mohammed to testify in the trial of a suspected member of an alleged Hamburg cell behind the attack. This raises doubts over the sincerity of the U.S. government about trying the persons who are allegedly responsible for the 9/11 attacks. Is this the cooperation in the “war on terror” that the U.S. government extends to others? Associated Press reported in November 2003:

A U.S. Department of Justice letter read in [German] court Thursday gave no reasons why [Khalid] Mohammed would not be allowed to appear in the trial of Abdelghani Mzoudi, who faces a possible 15 years in prison if convicted of 3,066 counts of accessory to murder and membership in a terrorist organization... The Justice Department previously rejected the Hamburg state court’s request for alleged Sept. 11 plotter Ramzi Binalshibh to testify... The U.S. government also refused to allow Binalshibh to testify in the trial of Mzoudi’s friend, Mounir el Motassadeq, who was convicted in the same court of the same charges in February and sentenced to the maximum 15 years. Mzoudi’s attorneys have said either man might be able to testify that their client had no knowledge of the plot. In another letter received by the court, German federal prosecutors denied the defense access to transcripts of Binalshibh’s interrogations. German security services received the transcripts from U.S. authorities with the proviso that they be kept secret, and releasing them would damage the German agencies’ credibility, according to the letter.<sup>145</sup>

It is also strange to discover that yet another Pakistani national, Uzair Paracha, who was jailed on terrorism-related charges, was seeking to gain access to Khalid Sheikh and was again denied this by the U.S. government. According to the CNN report: “The suspect, Uzair Paracha, 23, accused of helping an al-Qaeda operative enter the United States, has been jailed in New York City for nine months and was charged in a

five-count indictment last October [2003]. His attorneys filed a motion this week in a Manhattan federal court seeking access to Mohammed and two other U.S. detainees the attorneys say are central to their defense.”<sup>146</sup>

The questions are: how much does Khalid Sheikh know and why do most of the accused feel that his testimony would help them defend themselves? And, if the government of the United States has nothing to hide, why is it not cooperating with international courts in 9/11-related cases? The United States didn't even seem to care if terrorist suspects were freed due to its refusal to cooperate, as long as they remained in their protection and were considered viable assets. The *London Times* reported on April 8, 2004: “America blamed as German judges free 9/11 suspect.”<sup>147</sup>

This shows that both the CIA and the ISI, and their assets, are immune to the normal legal processes. They used agents such as Khalid Sheikh and Saeed Sheikh and then prevented law enforcement agencies and courts from performing their duty. The *New York Times* reported about the frustration of the FBI over the way the CIA has been hiding Khalid Sheikh and not allowing his prosecution: “FBI agents who spent years tracking terrorist suspects like the man believed to be the Sept. 11 mastermind, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, will almost certainly never have the satisfaction of seeing him tried in federal court. He is now in CIA custody in an undisclosed location overseas. Some FBI officials privately express frustration over their inability to pursue cases against such important figures.”<sup>148</sup>

Certainly, a great deal of frustration has been expressed about two facts in particular: the FBI has been unable to bring suspects to prosecution, and the CIA has failed to share vital information that could have averted the 9/11 attacks. In March 2004, The *New York Times* reported:

Reprising the scene in the White House on 9/11, Mr. Clarke

says Dale Watson, the F.B.I.'s counterterrorism chief, called him. 'We got the passenger manifests from the airlines,' Mr. Watson said. 'We recognize some names, Dick. They're al-Qaeda.' Mr. Clarke recalled: 'I was stunned, not that the attack was al-Qaeda but that there were al-Qaeda operatives on board aircraft using names that the F.B.I. knew were al-Qaeda.' Mr. Watson told Mr. Clarke that 'C.I.A. forgot to tell us about them.'<sup>149</sup>

One of the consequences of the FBI investigation into the September 11 attacks is that its hunt for suspects has inevitably lead to many trails overseas and, as a result, directly into territory which is more typically occupied by the CIA. On November 6, 2001 the BBC *Nightnight* program posed the critical question: "Has someone been sitting on the FBI?"<sup>150</sup> The program interviewed U.S. national security expert Joe Trento, author of *Secret History of the CIA*, into whose hands confidential FBI documentation relating to the bin Laden family had fallen. Another interviewee on the program stated, "There is a hidden agenda at the very highest levels of our government."

The FBI's work is further hampered by interference from as high a position as the Bush administration. The following statement from a report of the Joint Inquiry<sup>151</sup> into the Terrorist Attacks Of September 11, 2001 by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (July 24, 2003) expresses this:

[9/11 hijackers] Nawaf al-Hazmi and Khalid al-Mihdhar had numerous contacts with a long-time FBI counterterrorism informant while they were living in San Diego, California... In its November 18, 2002 written response to the [9/11 Congressional] Joint Inquiry, the FBI has acknowledged that there are 'significant inconsistencies' in the informant's statements about these [counterterrorism] contacts [with the 9/11 hijackers before the attacks]. The FBI investigation regarding this issue is continuing... The [Bush] Administration has to date objected to the Inquiry's efforts to interview the informant in order to attempt to

resolve those inconsistencies. The Administration also would not agree to allow the FBI to serve a Committee subpoena and deposition notice on the informant. Instead, written interrogatories from the Joint Inquiry were, at the suggestion of the FBI, provided to the informant. Through an attorney, the informant has declined to respond to those interrogatories and has indicated that, if subpoenaed, the informant would request a grant of immunity prior to testifying.<sup>152</sup>

The process of cover-up began long ago, probably since the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya. According to the *U.S. News and World Report*: “Within days, 375 FBI agents and crime experts would pour into East Africa. Yet, despite planes that broke down, phones that didn’t work, and myriad obstacles of distance, culture, and logistics, that investigation is now widely judged a success.”<sup>153</sup> Yet the picture is not as pretty as the world was told. In an interview with ABC News, FBI officers assigned to the investigation, prior to and after the bombing, described how they were specifically tasked not to open criminal investigations against the suspects.

In a dramatic interview with ABC NEWS, FBI special agents and partners Robert Wright and John Vincent say they were called off criminal investigations of suspected terrorists tied to the deadly bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa. U.S. officials say al-Qaeda was responsible for the embassy attacks and the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks in the United States... The suspected terrorist cell in Chicago was the basis of the investigation, yet Wright, who remains with the FBI, says he soon discovered that all the FBI intelligence division wanted him to do was to follow suspected terrorists and file reports — but make no arrests... “The supervisor who was there from headquarters was right straight across from me and started yelling at me: ‘You will not open criminal investigations. I forbid any of you. You will not open criminal investigations against any of these intelligence subjects,’ Wright said. Even though they

were on a terrorism task force and said they had proof of criminal activity, Wright said he was told not to pursue the matter... Yet, even after the bombings, Wright said FBI headquarters wanted no arrests. "Two months after the embassies are hit in Africa, they wanted to shut down the criminal investigation," said Wright. "They wanted to kill it?... The move outraged Chicago federal prosecutor Mark Flessner, who was assigned to the case despite efforts Wright and Vincent say were made by superiors to block the probe..." "There were powers bigger than I was in the Justice Department and within the FBI that simply were not going to let it [the building of a criminal case] happen. And it didn't happen," Flessner said. He said he still couldn't figure out why Washington stopped the case... On Sept. 11, 2001, the two agents watched the terror attacks in horror, worried that men they could have stopped years earlier may have been involved.<sup>154</sup>

The same lack of transparency remained after the 9/11 attacks. The secrecy surrounding the key suspects—the former assets of the ISI and the CIA—suggests that the U.S. authorities have so many secrets that they have even hidden key information from the FBI. This is why the CIA has chosen to hide Khalid Sheik and others at locations which are known only to the CIA.<sup>155</sup> The so-called classified information, which the U.S. authorities fear the suspects would divulge, is actually information that will expose the true instigators of the 9/11 attacks and their plan to set up bin Laden and invade Afghanistan. For example, the U.S. government will go to great lengths to ensure that Khalid Sheikh remains silent, even if when he was confirmed to have killed Daniel Pearl:

American officials said Tuesday that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, once al-Qaeda's top commander, personally executed Daniel Pearl, a *Wall Street Journal* reporter who was abducted in Pakistan early last year... Other officials said Mr. Mohammed, who is being held at an undisclosed location as a suspected terrorist..., was unlikely to be accused of the crime [of the murder of Daniel Pearl] in an American

criminal court because of the risk of divulging classified information.<sup>156</sup>

Although he was a suspect in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre, Khalid Sheikh was a frequent traveler to the United States. This implies that he was somehow working with U.S. agencies and authorities. The *New York Post* (May 10, 2004) reported a former secretary of the navy as saying: “The State Department had a guy on its list named Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. He was already under indictment for his role in planning the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. State issued him a visa.”<sup>157</sup> A report of the joint inquiry into the 9/11 attacks in July 2003 also notes:

In June 2001, [————] disseminated a report to all Intelligence Community agencies, [————], military commanders, and components in the Treasury and Justice Departments emphasizing KSM’s ties to Bin Laden as well as his continuing travel to the United States. The report explained that KSM appears to be one of Bin Laden’s most trusted lieutenants and was active in recruiting people to travel outside Afghanistan, including to the United States, on behalf of Bin Laden. According to the report, he traveled frequently to the United States, including as recently as May 2001, and routinely told others that he could arrange their entry into the United States as well. Reportedly, these individuals were expected to establish contact with colleagues already there. The clear implication of his comments, according to the report, was that they would be engaged in planning terrorist-related activities. Although this particular report was sent from the CIA to the FBI, neither agency apparently recognized the significance of a Bin Laden lieutenant sending terrorists to the United States and asking them to establish contacts with colleagues already there.<sup>158</sup>



# ISI and Mossad Link to 9/11

**M**ANY facts and theories connecting Israel to the 9/11 attacks exist. One important missing link in all these theories is the connection between the ISI and Mossad, the Israeli Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations. First, some facts: there is ample evidence that the ISI and bin Laden worked together; the ISI was the prime backer of the Taliban; the CIA and U.S. government were behind the rise of the Taliban initially; the ISI is still protecting some Afghan intelligence assets; the ISI's assets transferred funds to the hijackers (as discussed in Chapter 3); and ISI agents predicted the attacks on the World Trade Center and the collapse of the towers well in advance.

The ISI was not solely responsible for the organization,



planning, and execution of Operation 9/11, but it was (knowingly or unknowingly) part of the set-up for apportioning the blame on Osama bin Laden. It has been confirmed that the ISI was controlling Khalid Sheikh, Saeed Sheikh, and other assets. The question remains, however: who was pulling the ISI's strings?

Of course, the CIA has been the main force behind the ISI's actions since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. What many of us could hardly imagine is the direct connection from Israel to the ISI. In the wake of Pakistan's refusal to recognize the state of Israel, and Israel's anti-Pakistan alliance and activities with India, it seems highly unlikely that there could be a direct connection between the ISI and Israel, and that Mossad could infiltrate the ISI and directly control it for Israel's strategic objectives.

Those who doubt the links between Israel and ISI should refer to journalist and author George Crile's book, *Charlie Wilson's War* (Grove Press, NY, 2003). George Crile, of the 'Sixty Minutes' program, presents the story of a congressman who became the foremost champion of the CIA campaign against the Soviets in Afghanistan. A closer reading tells of how Mossad actually used Charlie Wilson to penetrate the CIA's Afghan campaign, and thereby the ISI and the Pakistani government at all levels.

Charles "Nesbitt" Wilson is a 1956 Annapolis graduate who worshipped Winston Churchill and entered politics in 1961 at the age of 27 as the Texas State Representative. Wilson won a seat to Congress in 1973 as a Liberal. He regularly voted against Vietnam and eventually became of strong defender of Israel. Wilson's appointment to the House Appropriations Committee and a strategic alliance with CIA veteran Gust Avrakotos ignited the covert actions that gave Mossad the opportunity to infiltrate the ISI.

Charlie Wilson was famous for moving large sums of mon-

ey, both legally and illegally, as subsidies and to purchase weapons and equipment for groups fighting the Soviet army in Afghanistan.

Wilson was had a close relationship with the Israeli embassy's congressional liaison officer, Zvi Rafiah. According to George Crile, "Rafiah is a short, very smart Israeli who Wilson always believed was a highly placed Mossad agent... [he, Rafiah] had always acted as if he owned Wilson's office. One of the staffers kept a list of people he needed to lobby. He would use the phones, give projects to the staff, and call on Charlie to intervene whenever he needed him."<sup>159</sup> Crile's account suggests that Rafiah was the dominant figure in this partnership.

The relationship between Congressman Charlie Wilson and Zvi Rafiah started in 1973 when Wilson worked as an Israeli congressional liaison officer. A close working relationship developed between the two legislators, which lasted many years. Over the years this bond continued, even after Rafiah left his diplomatic post and joined Israeli Military Industries (IMI), Israel's largest defense company.<sup>160</sup>

To understand Zvi Rafiah in detail, it must be noted that he was involved in spying and collecting strategic information from the U.S. for Israel. In A close associate of Richard Perle offered classified material to Zvi Rafiah.<sup>161</sup> The incident was instantly reported to the Justice Department, which quickly launched an FBI investigation. The investigation found that Stephen Bryen, a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer and a close associate of Richard Perle, had illegally obtained classified documents of military and scientific importance, and that he had been seeking material that "could prove to be a major embarrassment to the U.S. government."<sup>162</sup> The FBI ultimately assembled "a good circumstantial case" that Rafiah "routinely issued orders to Bryen" and recommended that the case be brought before an investigative grand jury for espionage. However, the case was quietly closed after Bryen

resigned at the insistence of Philip Heymann, the assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, and from senators Clifford Case (Bryen's boss) and Henry Jackson (Richard Perle's boss). Heymann happened to be a close personal friend and associate of Dr. Bryen's attorney.<sup>163</sup>

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Charlie Wilson developed an interest in Israel at the same time as being appointed to some key Congressional committees that controlled funding for all major intelligence and military projects. His appointments to those positions were made possible with the help of his Israeli connections, which Crile termed his "Jewish friends."<sup>164</sup>

His Jewish friends had helped get him onto the committee; once there, Charlie learned from these master politicians how to influence budgets and policies. When he won a seat on the Foreign Operations subcommittee, which allocates all U.S. military and economic assistance, he was suddenly positioned to champion Israel's annual \$3 billion foreign-aid package.<sup>165</sup>

It was therefore not surprising to see Wilson traveling not only to Israel, but also Lebanon after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. After witnessing evidence of Israeli carnage and an elaborate campaign of terror, Wilson proclaimed: "The biggest surprise I had was the enthusiasm, the universal enthusiasm, with which the Lebanese welcomed the Israeli army. In every instance their voices were of relief and appreciation of the Israelis. That's just the way it is. It ain't no other way." After making this statement, Wilson personally met with Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Jerusalem.<sup>166</sup> "By the time he returned to Washington, Wilson had become, in his own words, 'an Israeli commando' in the U.S. Congress."<sup>167</sup>

It can be said that events unfolding before our eyes today usually have roots deep in the past. Wilson's loyalty to Israel and his association with Mossad made him closer to the

sympathizers of Israel in the United States. Dick Cheney, who stands accused by a growing number of analysts for his involvement in the 9/11 attacks, played a key role in having Wilson appointed to the White House Select Committee on Intelligence. This fact may suggest that Cheney was also an important player in the pro-Israeli network.<sup>168</sup>

After gaining access to the key Congressional positions, the “Israeli commando” became obsessed with funding and controlling the CIA’s Afghan jihad against the Soviets, not for the sake of Jihad, but for the purpose of infiltrating the ISI and reaching the inner-most power circles in Pakistan. At this point, Wilson’s Israeli sympathies had not been widely publicized. He promised the then Pakistani President, General Zia, that he would deliver the latest radar systems for Pakistan’s F-16 fighter planes—a crucial weapons system that they had thus been denied by the United States. Wilson also met with the CIA Station Chief Howard Hart and urged him to expand the program, stressing that vast amounts of money should be made available.<sup>169</sup>

In addition to infiltrating the ISI, Wilson’s other objective was the promotion and sale of Israeli weapons. For example, the famous anti-helicopter missile system Wilson had specially built for the Mujahideen was designed by the Israelis. Crile notes:

Charlie Wilson was marching himself into a true forbidden zone. Congressmen are not allowed to commission a foreign power to design and construct a weapons system. Nor do they have the authority to commit the Pentagon to pay for such a weapon. But these were minor outrages compared to Wilson’s potentially explosive attempt to bring the Israelis into the Muslim jihad that the CIA was funding against the Soviets in Afghanistan.<sup>170</sup>

General Zia and his close associates were perfectly happy with the sale of the missile system that the Israelis sold, in ad-

dition to tanks and other weapons systems, to Pakistan for use in the Afghan war.<sup>171</sup> Charlie Wilson remained an intermediary in all these deals. “The Israelis were hoping this deal [involving T-55 tanks] would serve as the beginning of a range of under-the-table understandings with Pakistan that the congressman would continue to quietly negotiate for them.”<sup>172</sup>

These deals were bitterly opposed by the CIA. Howard Hart, CIA Station Chief in Islamabad at the time, stated: “It was bad enough for [Pakistani President] Zia to be dealing with the Americans, even secretly. But the Israelis were so beyond the pale that it would have been impossible ... It’s beyond comprehension to have tried to bring the Israelis into it.”<sup>173</sup> Gust Avrakotos, the CIA’s acting Chief of South Asia Operations was also “adamantly opposed” to “bringing the Israelis into the CIA’s Muslim Jihad.”<sup>174</sup> The power of Israel’s lobby is evident from the fact that, in Crile’s words, “...right under Hart’s nose, Wilson had proposed just such an arrangement, and Zia and his high command had signed on to implement it.”<sup>175</sup>

Due to the pressure from Charlie Wilson, the CIA’s budget for Afghan covert operations was tripled in a matter of a few weeks. The CIA initially resisted accepting the funds, but according to William Casey’s executive assistant Robert Gates, “Wilson just steamrolled [CIA Near East Division Chief Charles]—and the CIA for that matter.”<sup>176</sup> The budget grew from \$35 million in 1982 to \$600 million in 1987. Both the United States and Pakistan played into Israeli hands as effectively then as they did in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, both before and after 9/11. They just kept getting steamrolled.

In the period between 1992 and 1995, Israeli and Pakistani diplomats met secretly in Washington on many occasions. These undisclosed diplomatic meetings were arranged by the Turkish ambassador to Washington, Baki Ilkin. Charlie Wilson, who ten years earlier had brokered arms deals between Israel and Pakistan for the Afghan War, was involved.<sup>177</sup>

Sliding into Mossad's trap was so easy that General Zia even agreed to keep details of the arms deals with Israel hidden from the United States. When Zia visited the U.S. in November 1982 to meet with President Reagan, he first met with Charlie Wilson in Houston. According to Crile, Wilson then broached the subject of Pakistan secretly purchasing arms from Israel for the Afghan War. General Zia agreed to this in principle—his only caveat being that “the Star of David be removed from them.”<sup>178</sup>

In summary, the Israelis became major players in the exchange of information and commodities with Afghanistan and Pakistan, not by interfacing with the CIA, which opposed their involvement, but via Mossad, the Israeli lobby in the United States—using Congressional delegations to establish their own direct connections—and by direct interaction with the ISI in Pakistan. The Israeli/Pakistan connection was crucial for infiltrating the ISI and providing Israeli intelligence with a very secure footing inside Pakistan's intelligence agency.

In her second term in power, Benazir Bhutto also intensified the ISI's liaison with Mossad in 1993, and she too began to cultivate the American Jewish lobby. Bhutto is said to have had a secret meeting in New York with a senior Israeli emissary, who flew to the U.S. during her visit to Washington, DC in 1995. Since his days as Bhutto's Director-General of Military Operations, Pervez Musharraf has been a keen advocate of Pakistan establishing diplomatic relations with the state of Israel.

After Musharraf overthrew Nawaz Sharif's government, the ISI-Mossad relationship deepened. This close interaction set the tone for Israeli-Pakistani relations until 2001, regardless of who was the incumbent in Israel, or whether a civilian or military regime ruled Pakistan. The most important contacts were between Mossad and the ISI, and the traffic was two-way. Pakistan passed intelligence about the Gulf States and the nu-

clear ambitions of Iran and Libya, whose programs Pakistani scientists had helped to build. Israel provided everything, from training for Pakistani leaders' security guards, to intelligence on India, with whom it has enjoyed full diplomatic relations since 1992.<sup>179</sup>

The consequences of the ISI-Mossad cooperation are gradually beginning to surface. The deepening relationship has not only paved the way for Musharraf's approval of his foreign minister's handshake with Israel, his "chance" encounter with Ariel Sharon on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly in September, and an address to the American Jewish Congress, but also to what transpired between the two agencies prior to the 9/11 attacks.

The ISI was closely working with Saeed Sheikh and Khalid Sheikh and Mossad was closely involved with Mohammed Atta and company. It appears that Mossad had been following and observing Atta since 2000, but there is more to that story, which is as yet unknown.

According to some documents shown to the *Sunday Express* newspaper in the U.K., Mossad was running a round-the-clock surveillance operation on some of the September 11 hijackers. This is highly unfeasible without some collaboration, similar to Khalid Sheikh and Saeed Sheikh working with the ISI. The details, contained in classified papers, reveal that a senior Mossad agent tipped off his counterpart in the CIA that a massive terrorist hit was being planned in the US. Other documents leaked to the *Sunday Express* from several intelligence agencies, including the DEA, show that two Mossad cells of six Egyptian and Yemeni born Jews trained at a secret base in Israel's Negev Desert with the intention of penetrating the Al-Qaeda network.

Even U.S. agencies expressed doubt over the Mossad claims. CIA chief George Tenet is understood to have described the warning from Mossad as "too non-specific." A senior U.S. in-

telligence source said: “Anyone can be wise after the event but it was extremely difficult to act on a non-specific threat given in a couple of tips from Israeli intelligence. It would be interesting to know if they could have been more specific with their information. Their surveillance teams must have observed Atta and his accomplices going to flying schools. I guess we might never know the real truth.”<sup>180</sup> The real truth would do nothing more than confirm that Atta and associates were closely working with the U.S. and Israeli agencies.

Israel certainly had motive to perpetrate an outrage like the 9/11 attacks, provided that the blame could be placed on Arab terrorists. Previous incidents, such as the Lavon Affair, amongst other things, suggest that they have the capacity to perpetrate such “false flag” attacks. Given the depth of Mossad’s infiltration in the United States, the following account demonstrates that it had the motive, means, resources, moles, and opportunity to coordinate the 9/11 attacks, using connections both in the United States, the CIA and the ISI. Mossad needed the ISI for its intelligence assets. General Mahmood was more than happy to provide Mossad-assets with money via the ISI-assets. This we know from information available in the public domain. Unfortunately, it would take years of research and some courageous investigation before the world could know the full depth of the CIA, ISI, and Mossad’s joint planning in Operation 9/11.

However, there is plenty of evidence to connect Israel, in form or another, to the 9/11 operation. The ISI, Saeed Sheikh, and Khalid Sheikh are the missing links, who simply complete the missing pieces of the 9/11 saga. Prior to 9/11, the FBI discovered the presence of a massive spy ring inside the United States run by the government of Israel. Israel has established government-subsidized telecommunications companies in the United States. These companies, such as Comverse Infosy and Amdocs, provide billing and directory assistance for



90 percent of the phone companies in the United States. Am-docs' main computer center for billing is actually in Israel and allows those with access to do what intelligence agencies call "traffic analysis"; provide a picture of an individual's activities based on a pattern of who they are calling and when.

Similarly, Comverse Infosys subcontracts the installation of automatic tapping equipment now built into every phone system in America. Comverse has been named as the most likely source of leaked information from telephone calls by law enforcement resulting in the derailment of several investigations, not only into espionage, but into drug running as well.

According to a Fox News Report:

Adding to the suspicions is the fact that in Israel Comverse works closely with the Israeli government, and under special programs gets reimbursed for up to 50 percent of its research and development costs by the Israeli Ministry of Industry and Trade. But investigators within the DEA, INS, and FBI have all told Fox News that to pursue or even suggest Israeli spying through Comverse is considered career suicide.<sup>181</sup>

Another prominent Israeli telecom company called Odigo, provides the core message-passing system for all "Instant Message" services. Two hours before the 9/11 attacks on commenced, Odigo employees received a warning.<sup>182</sup> Odigo, like many Israeli software companies, is based in Herzliya, Israel, a small town north of Tel Aviv, which happens to be where Mossad's headquarters are located.<sup>183</sup>

The information gleaned from these companies is being used to coerce the behavior of key individuals in the U.S. Government and media. This claim is supported by the manner in which the government and the media have handled these scandals—they are downplaying them. Perhaps "burying" is a better word.

Fox News ran the story as a four-part broadcast, and placed

the story on their web site. Suddenly, without explanation, Fox News erased the story from their web site<sup>184</sup>, and have never mentioned it again. CNN followed by removing their report of the two hour advance warning of the WTC attacks sent to Odigo employees. Far more telling is the admission made by a U.S. Official in part one of the Fox News report that hard evidence existed linking the 9/11 attacks to some of the 200-plus Israeli spies who were arrested both before and after 9/11. This evidence has now been classified.

Since then, any and all mention of the Israeli spy ring and phone tapping scandal has resulted in a hail of anti-Semitic accusations—an overused device to try to silence discussion on any topic unfavorable to the nation which instigated the spy ring in question.

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## **Israel and Operation 9/11**

“9/11” has become a rallying cry of modern day fascists.

The information we receive, however, is composed of half-truths. It is time to draw a curtain on the largely ignored role of the American, Pakistani, Israeli, and British intelligence agencies. Those who planned Operation 9/11 literally flooded the world with warnings of impending attacks on the United States. The intelligence agencies of France, Germany, Russia, Argentina, Egypt, Morocco, and Jordan echoed the warnings, which were deliberately leaked as part of the set-up for the 9/11 attacks.

In August 2001, Mossad handed over a list of 19 individuals in the United States whom it believed to be planning terrorist activities. Four of them ended up on the list of alleged 9/11 hijackers. It is difficult to determine if Mossad gave up these names as a result of confidence that they would not be caught before the 9/11 operation, or due to the conviction that the U.S. agencies would not act upon this information before the

culmination of Operation 9/11. This apparent show of helpfulness could be one of the pre-9/11 measures to create the impression that Mossad was serious about capturing terrorists for the United States.

Moreover, the German newspaper *Der Spiegel* reported on October 1, 2002, that the U.S. government said that the un-specific Israeli warning was for attacks “outside the United States,” not within the U.S. Again, this could have been part of the overall deception game played by the intelligence agencies. It would be naïve to assume that Mossad had not known Mohammed Atta and company for some time, or that Mossad’s decision to pass information to U.S. law enforcement agencies was a surprise. Those who closely watched these developments concluded that “there are indications that Mossad knew about Mohammed Atta and his gang long before they let U.S. law enforcement in on the secret.”<sup>185</sup>

A reporter, Jim Galloway, in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*,<sup>186</sup> reported that, of the 1,100 foreigners arrested by the FBI for suspicion of involvement in the September 11 incidents, 100 are Israelis. Galloway also claimed that the FBI had evidence suggesting that Mossad, along with some rogue American and foreign spy agencies may be deeply involved in, or even entirely responsible, for the September 11 attacks as well as other acts of terrorism against the United States. On September 11, 2001, five Israeli nationals were arrested by the FBI after several witnesses saw them “dancing”, “high-fiving”, and “celebrating” as they took pictures of the World Trade Center disaster from across the river in New Jersey. Steven Gordon was the lawyer who volunteered to represent the five Israelis. He was asked by a Hebrew newspaper why the five men were being detained by the FBI. Here is what Gordon told *Yediot America*:

On the day of the disaster, three of the five boys went up on the roof of the building where the company office is

located,” said Gordon. “I’m not sure if they saw the twin towers collapse, but, in any event, they photographed the ruins right afterwards. One of the neighbors who saw them called the police and claimed they were posing, dancing and laughing, against the background of the burning towers. . . . Anyhow, the three left the roof, took an Urban truck, and drove to a parking lot, located about a five-minute drive from the offices. They parked, stood on the roof of the truck to get a better view of the destroyed towers and took photographs. A woman who was in the building above the lot testified that she saw them smiling and exchanging high-fives. She and another neighbor called the police and reported on Middle-Eastern looking people dancing on the truck. They copied and reported the license plates.<sup>187</sup>

The answer to one of the pro-Israeli argument that someone posted this information without any evidence is that where is even this much evidence against the Taliban? Where is the evidence against Osama that he masterminded 9/11? If the idea that genuine intelligence agents of any persuasion would not act so stupidly and is immensely unlikely, must not we ask, how likely is it for a person sitting in caves in Afghanistan to help others hijack four airplanes at the same time, remain for hours in the air, yet avoid the U.S. air defense system. Involvement of the Taliban and Osama is more unlikely than Israel’s involvement in 9/11. Even FBI has now admitted that it “has no hard evidence connecting bin Laden to 9/11.”<sup>188</sup>

When the photos were developed, they revealed the dancing Israelis smiling in the foreground of the New York massacre.<sup>189</sup> Pro-Israeli analysts argue that, if indeed this is true and not completely fabricated, then it could be that these people were not Israelis. However, there are other factors to be considered. According to ABC’s investigative journalism program 20/20, in addition to their outrageous and highly suspicious behavior, the five also had the following items in their possession; box-cutters, European passports, and \$4700 cash hidden in a sock.<sup>190</sup> These men, from a phony moving compa-

ny in Weehawken, New Jersey, turned out to be agents of the Israeli military intelligence, Mossad. Furthermore, their “moving van” tested positive for explosives, which fits well with the credible claims of many experts that the WTCs were brought down by controlled demolition.<sup>191</sup> Dominic Suter, the Israeli owner of Urban Moving Systems, the phony “moving company,” fled in haste, or was allowed to escape, to Israel before FBI agents could interrogate him. The Israeli agents were later returned to Israel on minor visa violations.<sup>192</sup>

Why were these Israeli agents so happy about the horrifying massacre that was unfolding in front of them? What could possess people who are supposed to be America’s “allies”, and who receive billions of dollars in financial and military aid from U.S. taxpayers each year, to publicly rejoice as innocent people (including many American Jews) were dying? Could it be that these Israeli agents were in some way linked to this monstrous attack? That’s what officials close to the investigation initially told *The Bergen Record* newspaper of New Jersey.<sup>193</sup> One of the Israeli agents later told Israeli radio that they had been sent to “document the event”—the event which took the lives of some 3,000 people.<sup>194</sup>

Two more Israelis were caught in a truck on Interstate 80 in Pennsylvania, near the crash site of American Airlines flight 93. Police became suspicious when they found maps of the city with certain locations highlighted, box cutters, and other incriminating evidence. Police also said that bomb sniffing dogs reacted as if they smelled explosives when they were brought to the Israelis’ truck.<sup>195</sup>

There are many reports showing that in the months before September 11 “Mossad had launched a major covert operation in the United States, involving hundreds of agents who not only kept a close watch on the terrorists but may have effectively blinded U.S. anti-terrorism investigators to the activities of al-Qaeda in the United States.”<sup>196</sup> The question is—if Moss-

ad was acting in good faith, why did it not work in tandem with the U.S. agencies? Why the need for secrecy and infiltration? Why would a foreign intelligence agency attempt to thwart the efforts of local anti-terrorism agencies if it were at all interested in preventing terrorist activities?

Sylvain Cypel wrote in *Le Monde* (March 5, 2002) that one of the Israeli agents' "tasks was to track the al-Qaeda terrorists on American territory—without informing the federal authorities." This seems simply incredible. Either Israeli agents were not working in the interests of the United States, or the U.S. agencies (or some of their members) were working in partnership with the Israelis. There are reports about evidence in "the U.S. government's own documents, leaked by its own employees, and in its public pronouncements before the decision was made to quash [related stories] at any cost."<sup>197</sup> What does this tell us? It shows that Mossad was probably not acting alone—it would appear that cooperation was extended to it from within the United States. The following warning from the National Counterintelligence Center—whose mandate empowers it to identify and assess possible threats to U.S. national security—was posted in March of 2001, and still exists on its web site:

#### Suspicious Visitors to Federal Facilities

In the past six weeks, employees in federal office buildings located throughout the United States have reported suspicious activities connected with individuals representing themselves as foreign students selling or delivering artwork. Employees have observed both males and females attempting to bypass facility security and enter federal buildings.

If challenged, the individuals state that they are delivering artwork from a studio in Miami, Florida, called Universal Art, Inc, or that they are art students and are looking for opinions regarding their work. These individuals have been described as aggressive. They attempt to engage employees

in conversation rather than giving a sales pitch.

Federal police officers have arrested two of these individuals for trespassing and discovered that the suspects possessed counterfeit work visas and green cards. These individuals have also gone to the private residences of senior federal officials under the guise of selling art.

Other reporting indicates that there may be two groups involved, and they refer to themselves as “Israeli art students.” One group has an apparently legitimate money-making goal while the second, perhaps a non-Israeli group, may have ties to a Middle Eastern Islamic fundamentalist group.

Federal employees observing any activity similar to that described above should report their observations to appropriate security officials.<sup>198</sup>

According to *Le Monde*, a report submitted to the American Justice Department shows that many of the “fine-arts students” suspected of illicit activity have a military past in Israeli information or advanced technology units. Some entered and left the United States on several occasions, remaining each time for short periods. Several are related to the hi-tech Israeli-owned companies of Amdocs, Nice, and Retalix.<sup>199</sup>

Furthermore, *Le Monde* reports:

Six of the intercepted “students” had a cellular telephone bought by an Israeli ex-vice-consul in the United States. Two others, at an unspecified time, flew to Miami from Hamburg and went directly to the residence of an FBI agent to try to sell him artwork. Shortly after, they left again for Chicago, where they visited the residence of an agent of the justice department, and then took a plane directly to Toronto—all during the course of one day.<sup>200</sup>

The question is: How did the Israelis discover the home addresses of these senior officials? More importantly, a third of the nearly 200 Israeli suspects lived in Florida, the remaining two thirds residing in 42 different cities across the United

States. At least 10 of the 19 hijackers also resided in Florida.

An alert from the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) was the earliest premonition of the attacks, coming some six months before September 11. In the summer of 2001, the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) prepared a comprehensive report about the activities of Israeli agents.<sup>201</sup> According to the report a number of incidents had occurred “since at least the beginning of 2000” and had increased in November. After April 2001, “the number of reported incidents... declined[.] however, the geographic spread of the incidents “was extended to Wisconsin, Oklahoma, and Los Angeles.” In addition to visiting DEA offices, these “art students” also descended on a number of other law-enforcement and Department of Defense facilities across the continental United States. The majority of recorded incidents, however, seem to have occurred in the southern half of the country, with the epicenter of activity located in southern Florida.<sup>202</sup> According to the report:

The nature of the individuals’ conduct, combined with intelligence information and historical information regarding past incidents involving Israeli Organized Crime, leads us to believe the incidents may well be an organized intelligence gathering activity.<sup>203</sup>

These Israeli agents had served some time in the military. Most of them had been deployed in elite units. The DEA report lists name, rank, and serial numbers: Itay Simon, Marina Glickman, and Dilka Borenstein are all described as former members of Israeli military intelligence. Zeev Miller is identified as a “combat engineer,” and Ofir Navron identified as a “bomb disposal expert.” Aran Ofek, the son of a two-star Israeli general, was apprehended in Dallas. Taken together, their credentials are impressive: “intelligence officer,” “electronic intercept operator,” “special forces,” “demolition/explosive ordnance expert.” Fox News was the only media corporation



which covered the story, and then posted the story on its web site. Suddenly, without explanation, Fox News erased the story from their web site, never to mention it again.

According to the (now deleted) Fox News report (December 11, 2001), the Bush administration treated questions about the detention of 60 Israelis in connection with 9/11 “like hot potatoes.” Ari Fleischer, then White House Press Secretary, said: “I would just refer you to the Department of Justice with that. I’m not familiar with the report.” Colin Powell, the then Secretary of State, said: “I’m aware that some Israeli citizens have been detained. With respect to why they’re being detained and the other aspects of your question—whether it’s because they’re in intelligence services, or what they were doing—I will defer to the Department of Justice and the FBI to answer that.”

Elements in the FBI who had no prior knowledge and who were not complicit in the terrorist attacks had performed their duties. It seems that the real culprits undermined their hard work and the arrests they made in connection with the 9/11 attacks. For example, on the afternoon of September 11, 2001, the FBI’s Newark Office broadcast an alert asking surrounding police departments to be on the lookout for a van containing three suspected Israelis. We got an alert to be on the lookout for a white Chevrolet van with New Jersey registration and writing on the side,” said Bergen County Police Chief John Schmidig.

Three individuals were seen celebrating in Liberty State Park after the impact. They said three people were jumping up and down...Vehicle possibly related to New York terrorist attack. White, 2000 Chevrolet van with New Jersey registration with ‘Urban Moving Systems’ sign on back seen at Liberty State Park, Jersey City, NJ, at the time of first impact of jetliner into World Trade Center. Three individuals with van were seen celebrating after initial impact and subsequent explosion. FBI Newark Field Office

requests that, if the van is located, hold for prints and detain individuals.<sup>204</sup>

A Fox News report by chief political correspondent Carl Cameron showed how Mossad had thoroughly penetrated top-secret communications systems in the United States. In his words:

There is no indication that the Israelis were involved in the 9/11 attacks, but investigators suspect that the Israelis may have gathered intelligence about the attacks in advance, and not shared it. A highly placed investigator said there are—quote—“tie-ins.” But when asked for details, he flatly refused to describe them, saying—quote—“evidence linking these Israelis to 9/11 is classified. I cannot tell you about evidence that has been gathered. It’s classified information.”<sup>205</sup>

What should have been a bombshell from Fox News ended with complete silence from the rest of the mainstream media. Details and evidence implicating Israel in 9/11 were instantly censored and debunked. However, the March 5, 2002 article in *Le Monde* by Sylvain Cypel described the link between Mossad and the hijackers who were already in touch with the CIA and ISI agents. Sylvain reported that four of the five members of the group that diverted American Airlines flight number 11—Mohammed Atta, Abdulaziz Al-Omari, Walid and Wail Al-Shehri, as well as one of the five terrorists of United flight 175, Marwan Al-Shehhi—all resided at various times in Hollywood, Florida. Hollywood was also the temporary home of the Israeli agents. As for Ahmed Fayez, Ahmed and Hamza Al-Ghamdi and Mohand Al-Shehri, who took over United flight 75, and Saïd Al-Ghamdi, Ahmed Al-Haznawi, and Ahmed Al-Nami, of United flight 93 which crashed in Pennsylvania, and Nawaq Al-Hamzi of AA flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon, they all at one time resided at Delray Beach, north of Fort Lauderdale.<sup>206</sup>

At this point, all the pieces of the puzzle come together.

The ISI and the CIA were closely involved with Mohammed Atta and others who, in turn, were used to pass on select information to Osama bin Laden. Mossad was busy observing the prospective hijackers. It is highly unlikely that Mossad was not part of the overall plan; otherwise it would not have dedicated the surveillance resources required for such long periods. In the German weekly *Die Zeit* (October 14, 2002) Oliver Schröm published an article called “Next Door to Mohammed Atta”:

Everything indicates that the terrorists were constantly observed by the Israelis. The chief Israeli agent was staying right near the post office where the terrorists had a mailbox. The Mossad also had its sights on Atta’s accomplice[,] Khalid al-Midhar, with whom the CIA was also familiar, but allowed to run free.

Oliver Schröm further notes:

[Mohammed Atta and Marwan al-Shehi] lived in Hamburg before they settled in Hollywood, Florida[,] in order to plan the attacks. A Mossad team was also operating in the same town. The leader, Hanan Serfati, had rented several dwellings. “One of Serfati’s apartments was located on the corner of 701st St. [701 South] and 21st Ave. [sic] in Hollywood, right near the apartment of Atta and al-Shehi,” French intelligence reported later.

In the light of the information presented here, it seems apparent that certain elements within the Israeli government were involved in the 9/11 attacks. The Zionist movement has a long history of attacking the United States and then framing Arabs in order to gain support from the U.S. It is absolutely critical to the arguments presented in this text that the reader reviews some historical precedents regarding International Zionism’s history of manipulating America (and other nations) for their own purposes.

Without a basic understanding of this history, it would be impossible to comprehend the complex arguments surround-

ing Israel's involvement in 9/11. Of particular importance and relevance are: Zionism in World War 1;<sup>207</sup> Zionism in World War 2;<sup>208</sup> removal of the Palestinian protectors;<sup>209</sup> America becoming a Zionist whore,<sup>210</sup> the Zionist power struggle in America,<sup>211</sup> and the totalitarian designs of the State of Israel.<sup>212</sup>



# Putting the Pieces Together

IT is apparent that any ISI and Israeli connections to the 9/11 attacks have been forsaken by both the “mainstream” media and the official investigators of the 9/11 events. There were no meaningful official investigations into what really happened, which is why it isn’t too surprising that the hard evidence for who was behind the attacks still seems exceedingly thin. However, by linking all the events that we know of, and the roles of the myriad different ISI and CIA intelligence assets in the pre-9/11 period, one can reasonably speculate that the ISI (or, at the very least, its top leadership and some assets) played a key role in pinning the blame of 9/11 on Arabs in Afghanistan. At the same time, Mossad and its American counterparts appear to have focused their ener-

gies on physically bringing down the WTC towers and ensuring an attack on the Pentagon. It would not be difficult to go beyond speculation, providing that an honest investigation into the most horrific crime of our age could be realized.

By now it should be apparent that the official story of 9/11 does not make sense. Anyone with an enquiring mind should have realized that it is extremely improbable for one individual sitting in an Afghan cave to have planned an operation of this proportion.

The theory that “nineteen Arab fanatics,” executed this plan because “they hate our freedoms”<sup>213</sup> also does not make much sense. Additionally, many independent scholars have researched various aspects of the 9/11 attacks, including research on the possible “controlled demolition” of the towers. Other, similar research has been carried out in order to investigate the possibility of an “inside job.”

Although written with a different objective, Josh Meyer’s story in the *Los Angeles Times* (April 5, 2006) proves that Osama bin Laden was set-up to take responsibility for the 9/11 attacks via the help of Arab agents (Mohammed Atta and company) who were knowingly or unknowingly working for the real forces behind Operation 9/11. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who was closely working with Pakistan’s ISI and the hijackers<sup>214</sup> said, “Osama bin Laden was a meddling boss whose indiscretion and poor judgment threatened to derail the terrorist attacks.”

The planning centre for the whole operation was in the United States, and the perpetrators of 9/11 used Atta and associates most probably without their knowledge, as it was known that that they would not survive the task assigned to them on that fateful day. Select information was shared with Osama bin Laden for the sole purpose of making him discuss the possible attacks in the United States. The objective was to frame him beforehand and thus facilitate a war on Afghani-

stan. The way the hijackers spent their evening on September 10—spending the night in a Daytona Beach strip club, drinking and dancing —shows that they had little or no knowledge of the complete 9/11 operation. Similarly, Khalid Sheikh, Saeed Sheikh, and their handlers in the ISI were probably ignorant of the broader plan—the way they have been silenced shows that whatever they know would be enough to help analysts piece the puzzle together and conclude that the 9/11 operation was well-planned procedure in which Arabs and ISI assets and staff were used only for setting up Osama bin Laden and the ISI itself.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, “He [Osama] also saddled Mohammed [Atta] with at least four would-be hijackers who the ringleader thought were ill-equipped for the job. And he carelessly dropped hints about the imminent attacks, violating Mohammed’s cardinal rule against discussing the suicide hijacking plot.”

The hijackers, whom bin Laden dumped on Atta, were considered “ill-equipped for the job” simply because they were not part of the broader plan, as Atta and company were. It was only natural that bin Laden would introduce some devoted men to help Atta, especially in light of their joint efforts to plan attacks on targets in the United States. However, they were considered a liability because Atta’s bosses would not trust anyone who may have been more loyal to bin Laden than to Atta and his employers.

The fact that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was working more closely with the ISI than with bin Laden is evident from this statement in the *Los Angeles Times*’ report: “[Shaikh] Mohammed stated that he was usually compelled to do whatever Bin Laden wanted with respect to operatives for the September 11 operation,” the interrogation summary states. “That said, [Shaikh] Mohammed noted that he disobeyed Bin Laden on several occasions by taking operatives assigned to him by Bin Laden



and using them how he best saw fit.’ His independence from Bin Laden had its limits, however, because it was Al Qaeda’s money and operatives that enabled the plot to go forward.”

Where was the money from Al-Qaeda spent? What did the hijackers purchase with it? Obviously, not just box cutters and small knives. With this much information available, why has Khalid Sheikh not been put on public trial like Zacarias Moussaoui? These are the questions which remain unanswered. However, what is evident is that the planning centre was in the United States and Atta was working as a puppet for the real planners of Operation 9/11 in the United States, not Afghanistan. Discussions with bin Laden and financial assistance from him were part of the broader plan, used to consolidate the frame-up.

To understand the frame-up, it is necessary to review a little history. Initially, the US administration pinned the blame on bin Laden with its December 13, 2001 video release. The quality of the video was very poor and the authenticity of the tape was immediately questioned, which distressed President Bush to the extent that he made the following comment during a brief photo opportunity with the prime minister of Thailand: “It is preposterous for anybody to think that this tape is doctored. That’s just a feeble excuse to provide weak support for an incredibly evil man.”<sup>215</sup> Bush added: “Those who contend it’s a farce or a fake are hoping for the best about an evil man. This is Bin Laden unedited. This is... the Bin Laden who murdered the people. This is a man who sent innocent people to their death.” The U.K. foreign secretary, Jack Straw, insisted there was “no doubt it is the real thing.”<sup>216</sup> The criticisms of authenticity, combined with the vehement denials from the highest possible sources, suggest that the video may have been specifically produced to cover for the real culprits and thus pave the way for legitimizing the war on Afghanistan.

Bin Laden’s comments on the November 19 tape, aired by

the Arab news network, Al Jazeera,<sup>217</sup> caused quite a stir because they contradicted the “confession” video. According to Toby Harnden of the *Telegraph*, “American officials argued that bin Laden’s frequent references to U.S. support for Israel were a bogus justification for his terrorism because in the ‘dinner party’ tape of a private conversation there was no mention of the Middle East.”<sup>218</sup>

This is in contrast to bin Laden’s September 28, 2001 video in which he denies involvement in the 9/11 attacks but had plenty to say about the United States and Israel: “This system is totally in control of the American-Jews, whose first priority is Israel, not the United States. It is clear that the American people are themselves the slaves of the Jews and are forced to live according to the principles and laws laid by them. So, the punishment should reach Israel. In fact, it is Israel, which is giving a blood bath to innocent Muslims and the U.S. is not uttering a single word.”<sup>219</sup>

Moreover, bin Laden’s views on Israel have been consistent since 1998: “We say to the Americans as people and to American mothers, if they cherish their lives and if they cherish their sons, they must elect an American patriotic government that caters to their interests, not the interests of the Jews.”<sup>220</sup>

Let us assume for a moment that the December 13, 2001 tape is genuine. In which case the war in Afghanistan was launched more than two months before the world was presented with this evidence—evidence which had absolutely nothing to do with the Taliban or their government. There is no mention of the Taliban or their support in planning the attacks.

Even if the December 13, 2001 tape is genuine, it only proves that bin Laden was not the mastermind behind the attacks. It merely indicates that he had some prior knowledge of it, which does not make him responsible for the attacks. He states (if we accept the tape as stating anything) that he was

told about the impending attack five days before it occurred.

Although bin Laden admitted to the author, during an interview in mid-August, 2001, that “We are about to do something,” his immediate reaction after the 9/11 attacks—that he supports the attack but he did not do it<sup>221</sup>—suggests that he was set up. He was told through Arabs, who were knowingly or unknowingly working with the U.S. authorities involved in the 9/11 operation, that they were “about to do something.” The objective was to force the loudmouthed bin Laden into repeating the same words and talking about the attacks before they had happened. This was the best way to implicate him in advance.

The set-up to implicate bin Laden seems to span a long period of time. Even in the bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, bin Laden vehemently denied his involvement and refused to take responsibility. According to General Hamid Gul, Osama swore to him on the Qur’an that he had nothing to do with the bombings in Africa. In General Hamid Gul’s words:

Mossad is strong in both countries. Remember the Israeli operation to free hostages in Entebbe (Uganda)? Both Kenya and Tanzania were part of the logistical tail. A so-called associate of Osama was framed at Karachi airport. The incidents took place on Aug. 8, 1999, and on the 10th a short, clean-shaven man disembarks at Karachi airport and presents the passport of a bearded man. Not your passport, he was told. He then tries to bribe the clerk with 200 rupees. A ludicrously small sum given the circumstances. The clerk says no and turns him in and he starts singing right away. Not plausible. Osama has sworn to me on the Koran it was not him and he is truthful to a fault. Pious Muslims do not kill innocent civilians who included many Muslim victims. The passport must have been switched while the man was asleep on the plane in what has all the earmarks of a Mossad operation. For 10 years, the Mujahideen fought the Soviets in Afghanistan and not a single Soviet embassy

was touched anywhere in the world. So this could not have been Osama's followers.<sup>222</sup>

Evidence for the set-up of Operation 9/11 is further supported by the fact that in 1999, a U.S. National Intelligence Council (NIC) report noted that "al-Qaeda suicide bombers could crash-land an aircraft packed with high explosives into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the CIA, or the White House".<sup>223</sup> Furthermore, at least 11 countries provided advance warning to the United States of the 9/11 attacks. Two senior Mossad experts were sent to Washington in August 2001 to alert the CIA and FBI to a cell of 200 terrorists said to be preparing a big operation.<sup>224</sup> None of these individuals were arrested. This is not a sign of incompetence. It only proves that the initial propagation of information was created in order to set the trap—a trap designed to convincingly hold Arabs responsible for the attacks planned by the insiders. Actually, those agents within the U.S. intelligence community who were responsible for receiving and "acting" on the many foreign warnings received prior to 9/11 were most probably the ones who planted the information about the possible attacks in the first place. Additionally, the United States government hid behind a façade of incompetence and inaction both before the attacks and during the period when Operation 9/11 was unfolding.

Information obtained from Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri suggest that bin Laden came to know about the impending attack only days or weeks before it actually happened. This demonstrates that neither bin Laden nor the Taliban could possibly have been the main organizers. Indeed, the relationship between the Taliban and their Arab guests was not as deep and friendly as presented by the media. The Taliban had actually confiscated communication equipment from bin Laden and his followers. This is further confirmed by the Taliban leader Mullah Omar's statement reported by Reuters on September 19, 2001:

“We have told America that we have taken all resources from Osama and he cannot contact the outside world. And we have told America that neither the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan or Osama are involved in the American events. But it is sad that America does not listen to our word.”<sup>225</sup>

This is exactly how the Bank of Credit Commerce and International (BCCI) was trapped in 1988. The same mechanism was used to implicate Osama bin Laden and the ISI in the 9/11 attacks. Yet again, the U.S. is heavily implicated in the setup. For example, Canadian police arrested Ali Mohamed, a high-ranking al-Qaeda figure. However, they released him when the FBI confirmed he was a US agent.<sup>226</sup> As described earlier, Saeed Sheikh, who is reported to have sent money to Mohamed Atta, was reported to be a CIA agent. The *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* suggested that not only was Saeed closely tied to both the ISI and al-Qaeda, but he could be working for the CIA: “There are many in Musharraf’s government who believe that Saeed Sheikh’s power comes not from the ISI, but from his connections with our own CIA. The theory is that ... Saeed Sheikh was bought and paid for.”<sup>227</sup>

There is more evidence that suggests that the Arabs used in the 9/11 operation were working with the U.S. government. A series of articles in the *New York Times* suggests that at least seven of the 9/11 hijackers were trained in U.S. military bases.<sup>228</sup> The newspaper reported: “The Defense Department said Mr. Atta had gone to the International Officers School at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama; Mr. al-Omari to the Aerospace Medical School at Brooks Air Force Base in Texas; and Mr. al-Ghamdi to the Defense Language Institute at the Presidio in Monterey, Calif.”<sup>229</sup>

Ahmed Alnami, Ahmed Alghamdi, and Saeed Alghamdi even listed the Naval Air Station in Pensacola, Florida as their permanent address on their driver’s licenses.<sup>230</sup> According to *Washington Post* staff writers Guy Gugliotta and David S. Fal-

lis: “Two of 19 suspects named by the FBI, Saeed Alghamdi and Ahmed Alghamdi, have the same names as men listed at a housing facility for foreign military trainees at Pensacola base.<sup>231</sup> Two others, Hamza Alghamdi and Ahmed Alnami, have names similar to individuals listed in public records as using the same address inside the base. In addition, a man named Saeed Alghamdi graduated from the Defense Language Institute at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, while men with the same names as two other hijackers, Mohamed Atta and Abdulaziz Alomari, appear as graduates of the U.S. International Officers School at Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala., and the Aerospace Medical School at Brooks Air Force Base in San Antonio, respectively.”<sup>232</sup>

A defense official further confirmed that Saeed Alghamdi was a former Saudi fighter pilot who had indeed attended the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California.<sup>233</sup> Abdulaziz Alomari attended Brooks Air Force Base Aerospace Medical School in San Antonio, Texas.<sup>234</sup> Another U.S. defense official confirmed that Atta was a former Saudi fighter pilot who graduated from the U.S. International Officers School at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama.<sup>235</sup> The media dropped the story after the Air Force made an unconvincing statement that while the names are similar, “we are probably not talking about the same people.”<sup>236</sup> However, the U.S. military has failed to provide any information about the individuals whose names supposedly match those of the alleged hijackers, making it impossible to either confirm or refute the story. In Daniel Hopsicker’s view: “How easy was it to tell the Pentagon was lying? Think about it. It is neither plausible nor logical that the reports were false because of seven separate cases of mistaken identity. One or two, maybe. But seven? No way.”<sup>237</sup>

Using Arab agents to entrap Osama bin Laden by forcing him into making predictions about attacks on the United States before 9/11 is further confirmed by a number of in-

dependent research. Daniel Hopsicker concludes in his book *Welcome to Terrorland* that, rather than being a fundamentalist Muslim, Mohamed Atta better fits the profile of a member of Arab society's privileged elite, and also a spy. Amongst many oddities contradicting the 'fundamentalist' label and the description of a person determined to destroy the United States is the fact that his e-mail list included the names of several employees of U.S. defense contractors.<sup>238</sup>

Deciding to investigate for himself, Hopsicker phoned the Pentagon and spoke with the public information officer who helped write and disseminate their original denial of knowing the hijacker identities. From his interaction with the officer, Hopsicker discovered that someone in the Defense Department has a list with the names of the September 11 terrorists who received training at U.S. military facilities. The officer "just didn't [had] the authority to release it."<sup>239</sup>

Furthermore, Hopsicker spoke to a woman who works at the Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama: "I have a girlfriend who recognized Mohamed Atta. She met him at a party at the Officer's Club," she told us. "The reason she swears it was him here is because she didn't just meet him and say hello. After she met him she went around and introduced him to the people that were with her. So she knows it was him." Saudis were a highly visible presence at Maxwell Air Force Base, she said. "There were a lot of them living in an upscale complex in Montgomery. They had to get all of them out of here. "They were all gone the day after the attack."<sup>240</sup>

Despite it being key to any investigation into what really happened on September 11<sup>th</sup>, there has been a surprising absence of investigations into the goings on in Venice, Florida. In fact, to the contrary, "the FBI's full attention seemed to have been engaged—not in investigating what had happened—but in suppressing evidence and even intimidating the witnesses who had seen and heard things that fly in the face of the

‘official story.’”<sup>241</sup> For example, Mohamed Atta’s former girlfriend Amanda Keller says that even after she left Venice, the FBI called on her every other day for several months, telling her not to talk to anybody. Similarly, a woman called Stephanie Frederickson who lived next door to Atta and Keller in Venice reported how she and other residents in the same apartment building were harassed and intimidated by FBI agents, to prevent them from talking to reporters.

The FBI arrived in Venice just hours after the 9/11 attacks. A former manager from Huffman Aviation said: “They were outside my house four hours after the attack.” He added: “My phones have been bugged, they still are. How did the FBI get here so soon? Ask yourself: How’d they got here so soon?”<sup>242</sup> Within 24 hours of the attacks, records from Huffman Aviation, the flight school that Atta and al-Shehhi attended, were escorted aboard a C-130 cargo plane to Washington by Florida governor and brother of the President, Jeb Bush. Similarly, according to a sergeant with the Venice police, the FBI took all the police files and flew them to Washington with Jeb Bush aboard. (Presumably this was on the same flight as the Huffman records.) Hopsicker notes: “The important point was that taking files was a lot different than copying them. The FBI wasn’t taking any chances.”<sup>243</sup> He concludes: “There is a demonstrable, provable, and massive federally-supervised cover-up in place in Florida.”<sup>244</sup>

The December 13 tape was also very much part of the entrapment process—as could be one or more of the hijackers because according to the *Newsweek*, five of the hijackers received training at secure US military installations in the 1990s.<sup>245</sup> In all the frenzied outrage against bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda “network” that this convenient tape has produced, it seems that very few people have actually viewed the tape carefully enough to ask the important question that arises from bin Laden’s “admission” of having been told about the attack *five*



*days in advance*: If bin Laden only knew about the attacks five days in advance then *who* actually organized the 9/11 attacks?

Irrespective of the existence of this tape, the likelihood of bin Laden being the mastermind behind the attacks is actually quite improbable. If sending information to bin Laden about the impending attacks—which he shared with journalists well before 9/11—was not an attempt to trap him like the BCCI entrapment and the thousands of drug entrapment cases in the United States, then the possibilities left are: a) he was involved in collusion with the United States authorities or, b) he was involved independently, but the United States knew of his plans and deliberately allowed them to come to fruition, so as to reap the benefits of the attacks and achieve greater objectives rather than undermine the terrorist plan. This is perhaps why no other suspect for 9/11 was ever even contemplated, however briefly (even though the United States has plenty of enemies). An impartial, genuine inquiry into the attacks would have considered a list of suspects, such as Saddam Hussein, Gaddafi, Castro, one of the many Palestinian groups, Russia, China, local right-wing militias, anti-globalization activists, Syria, or someone completely unknown and unexpected. The list of possible entities that may wish harm to the United States is huge. Bin Laden would have been only one of these.

To put this in context, it took US authorities 18 years to catch the Unabomber<sup>246</sup>. However, the persons who allegedly masterminded the 9/11 operation along with the 19 “hijackers” became known to the United States government and media within a few hours of the attacks. Similarly, they identified Afghanistan as the target within days. Later, a CIA official, AB Krongard, said catching bin Laden was not even important.<sup>247</sup> Krongard was the CIA’s third most senior executive. It strongly suggests that the objective of Operation 9/11 was nothing more than the invasion of Afghanistan—a tactic designed to dislodge the Taliban and set up the ISI, thus immediately forc-

ing Pakistan into submission while also undermining its military capacity.

Formal government-authored inquiries into events such as the 9/11 attacks require massive organization and resources. It is an enormous task to start drawing up the list of possible suspects, possible personnel for the inquiry, and the main angles of investigation for the inquiry. In the case of 9/11, however, the conclusions were pre-determined and the pre-conceived results were announced without any real inquiry at all. Framing the Taliban occurred without any inquiry whatsoever. Without setting up any inquiry team, without any inquiry evidence, and without any reports and summaries for the President and others in the U.S. administration, the pre-determined verdict was announced in less than 12 hours, in a country that was in chaos and confusion, having just suffered the most horrifying terrorist attack in human history.

This is one of the most preposterous aspects of the whole 9/11 affair. How did all the necessary inquiry miraculously happen? To have physically held a meeting of the senior officials needed to coordinate the inquiry within less than three days in such a chaotic situation would probably have been impossible. Yet, by this time, the United States had already claimed to have held its “inquiry” and established the Taliban’s guilt by association with bin Laden—the main culprit. Was anything ever more obviously a set up? It is simply not possible.

Missing from the story are Saeed Sheikh and Khalid Sheikh. Despite being captured, and despite having obvious links to 9/11, both have been kept out of the picture. One possible explanation for this is that the ISI’s involvement has already been used to blackmail General Musharraf. However, perhaps it is not yet time to target Pakistan’s military strength. Quite possibly the same cards will be used to neutralize Pakistan, once Iraq and Iran have been dealt with.

An important question remains regarding the hijackers. If the planes were not remote controlled, as some theories have suggested, then pilots knew that they were on a suicide mission. It is difficult to believe that Americans, or those loyal to the United States, would knowingly participate in a suicide mission. One explanation is that some of the hijackers were genuinely hostile to the United States and were either participating in an attack that they thought would damage it, or did not realize that the scope of the operation would end up in their own death and such devastation. Albert D. Pastore, who carefully studied, painstakingly researched, and analyzed in detail all the sources and events of 9/11, also reaches the same conclusion in his book, *Stranger than Fiction*. His logical deduction is that perhaps, “the hijackers were another group of angry Arab patsies who were not even aware of who their true handlers were or what the broader strategic aim of the mission actually was.”<sup>248</sup>

Perhaps these individuals were under the impression that their plan was secret from the United States government. Possibly they were used to send a message to bin Laden that they were “about to do something.” That is why bin Laden started bragging to journalists, telling them that the myth of American might needed to be shattered. However, bin Laden did not know what the real perpetrators of 9/11 had actually planned for the Arabs used as pawns in Operation 9/11. That is why, soon after the 9/11 attacks, bin Laden said he approved of the attacks on United States interests, but categorically denied his involvement in the operational planning.<sup>249</sup>

What puts the hijacking part of the official story of 9/11 in serious doubt is the revelation that at least seven of the alleged hijackers are still alive. Wail and Waleed al Shehri are brothers and both are alive.<sup>250</sup> Others who are still alive are Satam al Suqami, Abdul Aziz al Omari, Fayez Banihammad (from the UAE), Ahmed al Ghamdi, Hamza al Ghamdi, Mo-

hand al Shehri, Saeed al Ghamdi, Ahmad al Haznawi, Ahmed al Nami, Majed Moqed, and Salem al Hazmi (the brother of Nawaf al Hazmi).<sup>251</sup> The FBI, however, remains silent. How can the 9/11 Commission be taken seriously when it refers to 9/11 ‘hijackers’ who are still alive?

The hijackers used stolen identities of at least five Saudis who worked in the airline industry as pilots, mechanics and flight attendants—people who would have had increased access in airports, a Saudi government official told the Sun-Sentinel.<sup>252</sup> In his book, *Stranger than Fiction*, Albert Pastore concludes, “We have established that at least 7 of the 19 hijackers are alive and well,”<sup>253</sup> and that “identities of 9 hijackers are in question due to identity theft.”<sup>254</sup>

No Afghan nationals were included in the list of alleged hijackers. Their country has, however, been made to pay the price for the alleged involvement of Osama bin Laden. Pakistan and Afghanistan were treated in very different ways after 9/11, despite the fact that there was no evidence of Taliban involvement in the attacks. As we discussed earlier, Pakistan’s ISI seems to be far more involved, at least in the set-up part of the 9/11 operation, than the Taliban. Still, the Pakistani government has not been asked to clarify why General Mahmud Ahmed of Pakistan’s Intelligence Services (ISI) ordered Saeed Sheikh to transfer \$100,000 to the alleged “ring-leader” of the 9/11 hijackers<sup>255</sup> shortly before 9/11.<sup>256</sup>

According to the *Wall Street Journal* (October 9, 2001), the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* reported on October 9, 2001 that Islamabad had replaced the head of its Inter-Services Intelligence agency, Lt. Gen. Mahmud Ahmed, “after the FBI investigators established credible links between him and Umar Sheikh, one of the three militants released in exchange for passengers of the hijacked Indian Airlines plane in 1999.”<sup>257</sup> There was no mention of their role in the 9/11 attacks.

In an August 3, 2004 article in the *Washington Times* Arn-

aud de Borchgrave wrote: “former Pakistani intelligence officers knew beforehand all about the September 11 attacks.” He goes one step further in pinning the blame solely on the ISI: “They even advised Osama bin Laden and his cohorts how to attack key targets in the United States with hijacked civilian aircraft. And bin Laden has been undergoing periodic dialysis treatment in a military hospital in Peshawar, capital of Pakistan’s Northwest Frontier Province adjacent to the Afghan border.”<sup>258</sup> One thing that could be seen as incriminating is the U.S. government’s silence in respect to these comments. Imagine if these allegations were leveled against an Iranian or Syrian intelligence agency.

According to Borchgrave, this information even came to the notice of the 9/11 Commission in the United States. He writes: “The information came to the commission’s attention in a confidential report from Pakistan as the commission’s own report was coming off the presses. The information was supplied with the understanding that the unimpeachable source would remain anonymous.”

The *Friday Times* carried a report by Ahmed Rauf in its issue for the first week of March, 2006, about the alleged payment of bribes amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars by the Pakistani Embassy in Washington, through its American lobbyists, to the members of the 9/11 Commission. The *Friday Times* report stated: “Foreign Secretary Riaz Mohammad Khan and Special Secretary Sher Afgan were present at the meeting when an FO (Foreign Office) official, Sadiq, who was part of the secret negotiations with members of the U.S. inquiry team and has just returned from Washington after completing a three-year tenure at the Pakistan Embassy, revealed that a lot of money had been spent to silence the members of the Inquiry Commission and induce them to go soft on Pakistan... According to the FO official, dramatic changes were made in the final draft of the Inquiry Commission report after Paki-

stani lobbyists arranged meetings with members of the Commission and convinced them to remove anti-Pakistan findings. This information is also given in the PAC records available with TFT (the *Friday Times*) and reveals that Pakistan won over the sympathies of 75 U.S. Congressmen as part of its strategy to guard the interests of Pakistan in the United States.”<sup>259</sup>

ISI-CIA collusion is evident from their deliberate attempts to hide some recognized facts. For example, the 9/11 Commission failed to investigate the circumstances surrounding the kidnapping and brutal murder of Daniel Pearl. A comprehensive enquiry into this murder was necessary in order to establish the pre-9/11 link of “assets” (belonging to the ISI and the CIA) with the hijackers of 9/11, and the involvement of ISI officials in transferring funds to the lead hijacker. The 9/11 Commission did not believe it possible that Daniel Pearl might have lost his life because there was a fear among the intelligence agencies of Pakistan and the United States that Pearl’s enquiries could have exposed the secret preparations for Operation 9/11. The 9/11 Commission also remained silent over the assessment of events preceding 9/11, even after scrutinizing the records of the intelligence agencies, including the interrogation report of Khalid Sheikh Mohammad.

Khalid Sheikh’s statement, that he informed the ISI before 9/11 about the planned terrorist attacks on the U.S targets, suggests that it is highly unlikely that the Pakistani agency would not have shared this information with its U.S. counterparts. If the ISI and the CIA did not act on information provided by their prime intelligence asset, it means these agencies probably knew more than their assets. Therefore, they are not only guilty of gross negligence but also of complicity in the attacks and their subsequent cover-up. Daniel Ellsberg, the former U.S. defense department whistleblower has stated: “It seems to me quite plausible that Pakistan was quite involved in this ... To say Pakistan is, to me, to say CIA because ... it’s

hard to say that the ISI knew something that the CIA had no knowledge of.” Ahmed’s close relations with the CIA would seem to confirm this.<sup>260</sup>

The 9/11 Commission avoided scrutiny of these facts, which makes the Commission and the U.S. government complicit in this crime as well.

Shaukat Qadir, a retired brigadier of the Pakistan army, wrote in the *Friday Times* (August 2, 2002) that the ISI and the CIA “have a lot to account for in their errors of commission and omission, not only in Afghanistan but elsewhere also. I do hope that someday they will reveal what was going on. But to build from this a case that Pakistan was the principal financier for the 9/11 attack and imply that the CIA collaborated in it and is now covering up seems too far-fetched.”

This one-sentence defense of the ISI does not fit with the following facts:

1. General Mahmood Ahmad, the head of Pakistan’s intelligence agency (the ISI), was in Washington the week prior to the 9/11 attacks, meeting with CIA chief George Tenet and other U.S. officials.
2. ISI Chief Mahmood Ahmad had ordered \$100,000 to be sent to Mohammed Atta prior to 9/11.
3. The Bush administration pressured Pakistan to dismiss Ahmad as ISI chief after publication of the story that he had ordered ISI money sent to Atta.
4. The ISI (and not merely bin Laden) was behind the assassination of Ahmad Shah Masood (the leader of Afghanistan’s Northern Alliance), which occurred just after the week-long meeting between the heads of the CIA and the ISI.
5. The ISI was involved in the kidnapping and murder of Wall Street Reporter Daniel Pearl.

6. Gerald Posner's report that Abu Zubaydah claimed that a Pakistani military officer, Mushaf Ali Mir, was closely connected to both the ISI and al-Qaeda and had advance knowledge of the 9/11 attacks. Mushaf later died in a mysterious plane crash.
7. ISI agent Rajaa Ghulum Abbas predicted in 1999 that the Twin Towers would be "coming down."<sup>261</sup>

To understand how the ISI ended up playing a role in the 9/11 set-up, one has to understand the root causes. General Musharraf's opportunism is a major factor in this regard. In a coup d'état on October 12, 1999, General Pervez Musharraf ousted the elected government in Pakistan. He arrested Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and installed a military regime. The United States immediately issued statements that it would continue to do "business as usual". The European Union, Commonwealth, and other governments followed suit. Musharraf made corruption and economic mismanagement of the previous government an excuse for usurping power. He promised economic progress, political stability, eradication of poverty, creation of investor confidence, and restoration of democracy as quickly as possible.

By 9/11, none of these promises had been fulfilled. The economy was on knife edge and there was growing popular discontent with falling living standards and increased violations of basic human rights. The regime was under fire not only from political opposition but also from its supporters in the ruling military elite. The schisms in the military reflected the internal and external pressure the regime had to face. While the United States and other major powers tacitly accepted the coup, they had become increasingly critical of Musharraf's failure to carry out the economic measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund, and his failure to crack down on "Islamic fundamentalists" within and outside the armed forc-



es. The United States had effectively blocked IMF loans and had not lifted economic sanctions imposed on Pakistan after its 1998 nuclear tests. The United States also demanded that Musharraf put pressure on the Taliban to hand over Osama bin Laden, whom the United States blamed for the bombing of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

Musharraf's regime confronted serious debt problems as a result of the IMF's repeated delays in disbursing \$1.56 billion in loans. Without the IMF's backing, Pakistan had been unable to reschedule its \$38 billion in foreign loans and was at the risk of defaulting on repayments of \$5 billion loans that were due by the end of the year. According to official records, Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves were down to only one third of a billion dollars. To fulfill IMF demands, the military regime resorted to outright repression.

At the same time, Musharraf's regime secretly tried to approach the United States and extended cooperation in military and intelligence services. It covertly helped the United States in its operations in Afghanistan. Publicly, Musharraf's statements started making headlines such as: "Musharraf tells Mulla Rabbani-led team: Resolve Osama issue, form broad-based government."<sup>262</sup>

Against this background, the ISI was busy in its business in Afghanistan and Pakistan. With CIA backing and the injection of massive amounts of military aid, the ISI had developed into a major intelligence network wielding enormous power over all aspects of Pakistani civilian and military life. In the 1980s and 1990s the ISI has a staff of military and intelligence officers, bureaucrats, undercover agents, and informers estimated at 150,000.<sup>263</sup> This active collaboration between the CIA and the ISI continued in the form of covert intelligence operations in the interests of the United States in Afghanistan and Central Asia.

Musharraf needed legitimacy for his regime. Gaining Ameri-

can support could only be possible through serving American interests. ISI Director Gen. Mahmood Ahmed visited Washington in April 2000. He met officials at the CIA and the White House. In a message meant for both Pakistan and the Taliban, U.S. officials told him that *al-Qaeda* had killed Americans and “people who support those people will be treated as our enemies.”<sup>264</sup> This was the beginning of the ISI slowly sliding into the intricate trap that had been laid for it.

More evidence has come to light thanks to India having a more than casual interest in the daily proceedings of its neighbor. A discussion paper released by the India-based South Asia Analysis Group released a statement in May 2001 about the secret visits from top U.S. officials to Pakistan. A paper, titled “Musharraf: From CIA with Love” revealed that the CIA director made a quiet visit to Pakistan to meet with President Pervez Musharraf in May 2001. There is little known about other secret contacts that may have taken place between the ISI and the CIA since Mahmood Ahmed’s visit to the United States in April of 2000. Tenet had “an unusually long meeting,” with General Musharraf while in Islamabad in May of 2001. He also met with his Pakistani counterpart, ISI Director Lt. Gen. Mahmood Ahmed. At the same time, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, a former covert operative and Navy Seal, traveled to India on a publicized tour.

During this time, Pakistan actively played a role in the United States’ plan to dislodge the Taliban and to pave the way for a military invasion of the country. Niaz Naik, a former Pakistani diplomat, has said that senior U.S. officials told him in mid-July of 2001 that they planned to attack Afghanistan by mid-October at the latest, before the winter snow set in.<sup>265</sup> On July 21, 2001, three American officials, Tom Simons (former U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan), Karl Inderfurth (former Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs), and Lee Coldren (former State Department expert on South Asia) met

with Pakistani and Russian intelligence officers in a Berlin hotel.<sup>266</sup> It was the third of a series of back-channel conferences called “Brainstorming on Afghanistan.” Taliban representatives sat in on previous meetings, but boycotted the third meeting due to worsening tensions. However, the ISI relayed information from the meeting to the Taliban.<sup>267</sup> At the meeting, former U.S. State Department official Lee Coldren passed on a message from Bush officials. He later said, “I think there was some discussion of the fact that the United States was so disgusted with the Taliban that they might be considering some military action.”<sup>268</sup>

Naik also said “it was doubtful that Washington would drop its plan even if bin Laden were to be surrendered immediately by the Taliban.”<sup>269</sup> One specific ultimatum conveyed through this meeting to the Taliban was to choose between “carpets of bombs” or “carpets of gold.”<sup>270</sup> Niaz Naik says Tom Simons made the “carpets” statement. Simons claims: “It’s possible that a mischievous American participant, after several drinks, may have thought it smart to evoke gold carpets and carpet bombs. Even Americans can’t resist the temptation to be mischievous.” Naik and the American participants deny that the issue of gas pipelines was an issue at the meeting, which negates the theory that the United States dislodged the Taliban only to have access to petroleum resources and thus facilitate the production of gas pipelines.<sup>271</sup>

During the summer of 2001, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld’s office “sponsored a study of ancient empires—Macedonia, Rome, the Mongols—to determine out how these ancient civilizations maintained dominance.”<sup>272</sup> By September 9, 2001, a former National Security Presidential Directive describing a “game plan to remove al-Qaeda from the face of the Earth” had been placed on Bush’s desk for his signature. The plan dealt with all aspects of a war against al-Qaeda, ranging from diplomatic initiatives to military operations in Afghanistan. Ac-

According to NBC News reporter Jim Miklaszewski, the “directive outlines essentially the same war plan ... put into action after the Sept. 11 attacks. The administration most likely was able to respond so quickly to the attacks because it simply had to pull the plans ‘off the shelf.’”<sup>273</sup>

So, the plan to wage a war of aggression in Afghanistan was ready before 9/11. However, it was not possible to carry it out. Sandy Berger, Clinton’s National Security Advisor, stated, “You show me one reporter, one commentator, one member of Congress who thought we should invade Afghanistan before September 11 and I’ll buy you dinner in the best restaurant in New York City.”<sup>274</sup> In July 2002, British Prime Minister Tony Blair clearly stated: “To be truthful about it, there was no way we could have got the public consent to have suddenly launched a campaign on Afghanistan but for what happened on September 11.”<sup>275</sup> These statements demonstrate that a horrifying event, such as a repeat of the attacks on Pearl Harbor, was necessary in order to obtain public support for the administration’s plan to invade and conquer Afghanistan.

Opportunistic Musharraf and the ISI played their role by supporting the set-up of a fake al-Qaeda connection to the 9/11 attacks. To establish a financial link between “Al-Qaeda” and Mohammed Atta, ISI Chief General Mahmood Ahmed was used as described in the section on Saeed Sheikh.

The FBI had information relating to the money trail. They knew exactly who was financing the terrorists. Less than two weeks after the attacks the findings of the FBI were confirmed by the Agence France Presse and the *Times of India*, quoting an official Indian intelligence report.<sup>276</sup> At the Group of Eight Summit held in Italy in July of 2001, plans were discussed for the ousting of the Taliban from power. Wolfowitz, Perle, and Nitze pushed for the American occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. Bush’s cabinet intended to take military action to take control of the Persian Gulf whether or not Saddam Hussein

was in power. The blueprint written in September 2000 was supported by an earlier document written by Wolfowitz and Libby, which recommended maintaining American bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, in order to maintain American control over Arab oil.

Pakistan remained the frontline launching pad for the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. Musharraf possibly considered it the best opportunity of his life to serve the U.S. and in return gain legitimacy for his illegitimate rule. The ISI went as naïvely into the trap as it had been playing into the CIA's hands beforehand. In late August 2001, during the last phases of planning a couple of weeks before September 11, Representative Porter Goss, Senator Bob Graham, and Senator Jon Kyl were on a top level intelligence mission in Islamabad. They held meetings with General Musharraf and with the military and intelligence officers including the head of the ISI, General Mahmood Ahmad.

It has been documented that Porter Goss had an established personal relationship to the Head of Pakistan Military Intelligence (ISI), General Mahmood Ahmad—who was needed due to his control over “a spy agency notoriously close to Osama bin Laden and the Taliban.”<sup>277</sup> According to the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), General Mahmood Ahmad briefed Porter Goss and Bob Graham about the situation in Afghanistan at ISI headquarters in Rawalpindi. One can understand the depth of their planning from the following note from the CFR:

Senator Bob Graham's first foreign trip as chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, in a late-August 2001, with House intelligence Chairman Goss and Republican Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona, focused almost entirely on terrorism. It ended in Pakistan, where (ISI Chief) General Mahmood Ahmed's intelligence agents briefed them on the growing threat of al-Qaeda while they peered across the Khyber Pass at an obscure section of Afghanistan, called Tora Bora. The

Americans also visited General Ahmed's compound and urged him to do more to help capture Osama bin Laden. The general hadn't said much, but the group had agreed to discuss the issue more when he visited Washington on September 4, 2001.

During the implementation phase of Operation 9/11 planning, General Mahmood Ahmad arrived in the United States on an official visit on September 4, 2001. General Mahmood's meetings with his U.S. counterparts, including CIA Head George Tenet, continued during this time. He also had an important meeting with unspecified officials at the White House and the Pentagon, including a meeting with Marc Grossman, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

The first "event" of the larger scheme of Operation 9/11 unfolded on September 9, 2001, two days before the attacks, when the leader of the Afghan Northern Alliance, Ahmed Shah Massood, was assassinated. The ISI, headed by General Ahmad, was allegedly involved in ordering the assassination of General Massood. The rationale behind the assassination is obvious—General Massood was the last remaining hurdle to the Northern Alliance's cooperation with the United States in the coming invasion of Afghanistan. The official statement from the Northern Alliance also suggested the involvement of the ISI in the assassination of Ahmad Shah Masood. If the assassination had been decided by the ISI or its own accord, this would have occurred long ago because he was the last remaining hurdle in the way of the Taliban's final military victory. However, this was not the case. Assassinating Masood was a strategic event in the U.S. plans for invading and occupying Afghanistan.

The United States wanted footholds in Northern Afghanistan, and the full support of the Northern Alliance, which would not have been possible in the presence of Ahmad Shah Masood. No matter how strongly opposed he and other former Mujahideen commanders were to the Taliban, they were

not in favor of another invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. Therefore, Ahmad Shah Masood had to be replaced before the arrival of the U.S. forces. The way Masood's low level commanders were immediately showered with dollars as they unconditionally surrendered to the U.S. after the death of Ahmad Shah Masood is described by a former CIA station chief in Pakistan, Gary Schroen, in his book *First In: An Insider's Account of How the CIA Spearheaded the War on Terror in Afghanistan*.

In Ahmad Shah Masood's last interview he stated that the United States had approached the Afghan foreign minister, Abdullah Abdullah, through Christin Rocca, the U.S. Secretary of State representative. No one had asked Ahmad Shah Masood directly due to his position against direct intervention by outside forces. When asked: Should the United States support you militarily or in any other way? He replied: "We have our supplies of ammunition, even though not enough. What is important is not direct military support. Taliban, when left alone, without any external support, are not the force to be seriously considered in the long run."<sup>278</sup>

As discussed previously in detail, on the morning of September 11, General Mahmood, Bob Graham, Porter Goss and Jon Kyl met again. After the 9/11 attacks, a series of well-publicized meetings between General Mahmood and others took place to seem as if they were negotiating collaboration with Pakistan. In fact, everything had already been planned beforehand. If Musharraf and senior officials in the ISI were not involved in the overall planning before 9/11, they would have had sufficient justification to say no to the excessive American demands.

Instead Musharraf immediately issued statements such as "the Taliban's days are numbered," claimed to have seen evidence against bin Laden, which he said was sufficient "to indict him in a court of law." If that were the case, what was

the need for invading and occupying Afghanistan? And why hasn't that evidence surfaced until now? It is unfortunate for Musharraf and Mahmood, who thought they were taking advantage of the U.S. obsession with eliminating the Taliban—they had no idea that they were stepping in a trap, which would first see Mahmood's status change from asset to liability and Musharraf become a slave to his new masters in Washington. The only possible explanation behind Musharraf's behavior is blackmail. Musharraf's appeasement did not help Pakistan. It just gave Washington some time in order to plan more strategically.

More horrible consequences were yet to unfold. The most horrible consequences are yet to unfold. In the meanwhile, Pakistan Air Force Chief, Mushaf Ali Mir, had to be removed from the scene. He was killed in a mysterious air crash in February 2003. Unlike the international investigations into the killing of Rafiq al-Hariri, no meaningful investigations were carried out to find out the causes of this plane crash.

According to reports, Mushaf Ali Mir, the Pakistani Air Force commander had developed differences in opinion with General Musharraf—Mir was against giving a free hand to the FBI for search operations in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. It was stated that he had even shouted at General Musharraf at the last meeting of Corps Commanders in December of 2002 when Musharraf had informed them of his commitment to the United States in their hunt to catch “al-Qaeda cadres.” One year later Mir was killed in an air crash. No meaningful investigations were carried out to determine the cause of the crash, despite the background just described and the odd circumstances surrounding the incident—a change of pilot just 20 minutes before take-off, eyewitness accounts of a big blast before and after the crash, and the sighting of bullets and a Kalashnikov rifle from near the crash site.

It is interesting to note that General Mahmood discussed



Pakistan's collaboration in the war on Afghanistan with Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage on September 12 and 13, 2001. He also met Senator Joseph Biden, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on September 13. Meanwhile, little scenes were publicly enacted to give the impression that the United States was planning a war to avenge the 9/11 attacks. For example, Colin Powell's telephone call to General Musharraf was widely publicized. Musharraf promised Powell that Pakistan would cooperate fully, as if he had not been a part of the planning well before 9/11.

The myriad deceptions relating to Operation 9/11 never seem to end. According to the available information, General Mahmood was so cooperative that he instantly accepted seven, non-negotiable, demands from Armitage on September 13, 2001.<sup>279</sup> Yet he was forced to resign on October 7, 2001. According to reports, the swift response from General Mahmood took Armitage by surprise. "These are very powerful words, General. Do you not want to discuss them with your President?" he asked. "I know the president's mind," replied General Mahmood. A visibly elated Armitage asked General Mahmood to meet with George Tenet, the CIA chief at his headquarters at Langley. "He is waiting for you," said Armitage.<sup>280</sup>

The plan to invade and occupy Afghanistan was unveiled on September 11, 2001 at approximately 3:30 p.m. At that moment, the CIA Chief played a key role in confirming the political decision to go to war. A key meeting of the National Security Council (NSC) was convened, with members of the NSC communicating with the President from Washington by secure video.<sup>281</sup> In the course of this NSC video-conference, CIA Director George Tenet delivered unconfirmed information to the President. Tenet stated that "he was virtually certain that bin Laden and his network were behind the attacks."<sup>282</sup>

According to the *Washington Post*, Bush responded to these

statements, quite spontaneously, with little or no discussion, and with an apparent misunderstanding of their implications that these reactions would tell the world that the war was pre-planned and 9/11 just happened to be a ruse. In the course of this video-conference (which lasted for less than an hour) the NSC was given the mandate by the President to prepare for the “war on terrorism”.<sup>283</sup> That same evening (September 11, 2001, 11:00 pm) the War Cabinet met, where the discussion “turned around whether bin Laden’s al-Qaeda and the Taliban were one and the same thing. Tenet said they were.”<sup>284</sup> By the end of that historic meeting, the Bush Administration had decided to embark upon a military venture that had actually been planned for quite some time.

The same process followed in Islamabad. The Pakistani people were given the impression that the military junta had taken an about-turn within 48 hours of the 9/11 attacks on the United States. In fact, the two generals at the top of the military regime had surrendered Pakistan’s sovereignty by their decision to make it a lynchpin in the U.S. aggression against Afghanistan long before September 11, 2001. There were no consultations at any level when General Musharraf abandoned support for the Taliban and gave the American forces complete access to Pakistani territory, thus assisting in an illegal war against an allied and independent Muslim State. For the American planners behind Operation 9/11, blackmailing Pakistan as a result of the ISI’s involvement proved to be an extra bonus.



# Time for Pakistani Generals to Tell the Truth

OPERATION 9/11 was a carefully planned intelligence operation, much like the smaller Operation C-Chase to entrap the BCCI. The 9/11 hijackers were agents and double agents and probably unaware of the scope of the operation. They, along with the ISI, were instruments of a carefully planned international intelligence operation, which was designed to entrap Osama bin Laden and allow for war on Afghanistan. The evidence confirms that the ISI was used as the local arm of the CIA in South Asia. After all, the ISI owes its existence to the CIA. Now that the truth is becoming known, what lies ahead for the ISI and Pakistan will depend on when Washington feels the time is right to turn Pakistan into another Iraq and Afghanistan. The ISI's role in

9/11 has already forced Pakistan to pay a price in the form of permanent U.S. forces in Pakistan, and the agreement of continued provision of support to the U.S. war of aggression on Afghanistan.

History shows that the U.S. government has previously attempted to use ISI crimes to press Pakistani governments into submission. The *Washington Post* published a report by John Ward and Kamran Khan in its September 12, 1994 edition in an attempt to implicate the Pakistan army in drug trafficking. *The News* published the same report in October 1994. Another attempt was made through Kamran Khan in the April 04, 1999 edition of *The News*. More recently, the ISI faced severe criticism at a U.S. Senate briefing on the drug trade, a crime in which the CIA has been involved since 1960.<sup>285</sup> This hearing of the U.S. Senate was just another threat in the vast trap being laid for the Pakistani army for the next several years.

The entrapment process adopted by the U.S. agencies is very simple. They plan and commit a crime of serious magnitude. They achieve their strategic objective behind the crime. At the same time, they involve the victim in just a fraction of the overall criminal plan. The unknown/unintended cooperation in the crime is then later used to punish the victim. This is exactly how the BCCI was trapped. Irrefutable evidence, as discussed in the earlier sections of this book, demonstrates that the CIA funded the operation against the BCCI with drug money, earned through the organized selling of drugs to its own employees. According to the court transcripts of the BCCI case: "By late 1987, the agents had passed approximately \$2.2 million derived from Don Chepe's proceeds through the IDC account, and had split the 7-8 percent commission profit with Mora and Don Chepe's representative Javier Ospina, without telling any BCCI officers about drugs."<sup>286</sup> Yet, it was the BCCI that paid the price.

Similarly, the U.S. lawmakers planned to punish the ISI and

Pakistan for drug trafficking, yet ignored the fact that even if some military or ISI officials were involved in drug trafficking on a personal level, the amount they privately smuggled into the United States was no more than a fraction of the amount trafficked by the U.S. agencies. According to Paul Johnson, *Modern Times*, “By the end of the 1980s it was calculated that the illegal use of drugs in the United States now netted its controllers over \$110 billion a year.”<sup>287</sup>

According to the *San Diego Union-Tribune* (August 13, 1996), Celerino Castelo—a former DEA agent—stated that together with three other ex-DEA agents, they were willing to testify in Congress regarding their direct knowledge of CIA involvement in international drug trafficking. Castillo estimates that approximately 75 percent of narcotics entered the United States with the acquiescence or direct participation of CIA and foreign intelligence agents.

The drug case against the ISI was used to extract more obedience from Islamabad for strategic reasons. However, the case was set aside once the military regime accepted additional conditions, which are not publicly known. However, this will not be the case when it is time to discard the ISI and remove Pakistan as a hurdle in achieving unknown future strategic objectives of the administrations in Washington or Tel Aviv.

Making a case on the basis of the ISI’s involvement in drug trafficking was sufficient only for blackmailing the opportunist dictator in Islamabad into further submission. The case on the basis of the ISI’s involvement in Operation 9/11 can now pave the way for aggression against Pakistan. When it is time to turn Pakistan into another Iraq, as General Musharraf indicated as a possibility in early 2003, the Washington administration will ignore the fact that 9/11 was well-orchestrated, well-planned, and the product of numerous agencies—including the aviation authority, the Air Force, the FBI, the Immigration Services, and a centralized secret group of planners with in-

ternational intelligence connections with the CIA, the ISI, and others. Only the ISI will be held accountable for everything that transpired on 9/11. If India is used to play a lead role in neutralizing Pakistan, that would realize General Musharraf's worst nightmare. India has already been used as a threat to scare Musharraf into compromising on Pakistan's sovereignty, principles of international law, and the norms of human decency.

In the case of Afghanistan, the United States was not ready to listen to any proposals from the Taliban government—as if it had already decided that occupation of Afghanistan was the only solution. The numerous, almost daily Taliban appeals to the United States for patience and restraint were dismissed. In Mullah Omar's words:

“America always repeats threats and makes various accusations and now it is threatening military attack. This is being done in circumstances in which we have offered alternatives on the Osama issue. We have said, if you have evidence against Osama, give it to the Afghan Supreme Court or the Ulema (clerics) of three Islamic countries, or have OIC (Organization of Islamic Countries) observers keep an eye on Osama. But America rejected these, one by one. If America had considered these suggestions there would not have been a chance of such a great misunderstanding. We appeal to the American government to exercise complete patience, and we want America to gather complete information and find the actual culprits. We assure the whole world that neither Osama nor anyone else can use the Afghan land against anyone else.<sup>288</sup>

Future entreaties from General Musharraf or any Pakistani head of state at the time of U.S., Indian, or Israeli aggression—or any combination of these—against Pakistan would likely also fall on deaf ears. The United States will not want to lose the opportunity it created by engineering Operation 9/11. Under the leadership of an opportunist and myopic military leadership, Pakistan has slipped far too deep into the trap.

There is only one solution to the present crisis. Only truth will save Pakistan from the eternal bullying and blackmail by Washington. Air force Chief Mushaf Ali Mir has been eliminated. General Mahmood has been removed from his job and completely silenced. Saeed Sheikh has been convicted of a crime that he never committed. Khalid Sheikh is in the custody of the CIA, which has no plans to put him on public trial. All these individuals have a lot to tell. The information they possess can expose those individuals behind Operation 9/11.

One of the last remaining people who can tell the truth, and thus save Pakistan, is General Musharraf. He can tell the world how he is being blackmailed and what information is being used to blackmail him. Will he tell the truth to save Pakistan from further abuse and the rest of the humanity from the totalitarian designs of modern day fascists? Musharraf may worry about the consequences. Yes, he will undoubtedly lose his position, and even put his life at stake, but there are those who will believe. The world already knows so much. The information he could share would unravel the mysteries still surrounding the 9/11 attacks. These ambiguities exist due to the U.S. administration's refusal to share basic information, such as details from the black boxes of the planes that hit the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Silence on the part of General Musharraf will never save Pakistan or keep him in power forever. General Musharraf will eventually be replaced, like many in positions of power before him. Both General Musharraf and General Mahmood are presently in a position to perform a service to humanity that no other individual can—they can tell the truth about the involvement of the ISI in 9/11, about the role of Saeed Sheikh and Khalid Sheikh, and about the evidence General Musharraf was shown before the U.S. attack on Afghanistan that forced him to submit to every demand from Washington and prompted his utterance, “The Taliban days are numbered.”



Unlike the silence of Pakistan's chief of Air Staff, Mushaf Ali Mir, the silence of General Mahmood has saved his life—so far. Of course, revealing the facts about what actually transpired between General Mahmood and his fellow CIA and Mossad contacts in the United States before and on September 11 will jeopardize his life, but by telling the truth he will save the lives of thousands who are already dying and the millions who may die in the bigger wars to come. If General Musharraf and General Mahmood choose to remain silent, they will die with the blood of all those who are dead or dying due to Operation 9/11 on their hands.

General Musharraf wants to remain president-in-uniform till 2012. America wants to keep Pakistan occupied by its armed forces for as long as possible. It seems that with these complimentary objectives, Musharraf and Washington are getting along well. The reality, however, is totally different.

The United States extracted all concessions from General Musharraf through sheer blackmail. Musharraf would never have surrendered Pakistan's sovereignty and independence merely on a phone call from Collin Powell or George W. Bush if he were not blackmailed for the ISI's role in Operation 9/11.

Of course, the ISI was used to frame Arabs for the 9/11 attacks. But in the process, ISI's guilt was established as an agency supporting and financing the so-declared hijackers. There are ample reasons to believe that evidence about ISI's involvement in Operation 9/11 was used to blackmail General Musharraf into the quickest surrender of our age.

Washington knows that the general did not concede much by choice. With elections for the next parliament due in 2007, General Musharraf is desperately building a political base in the country to get a re-election from the new parliament for the next term or to get a change in the constitution to a presidential democracy to be able to shed the uni-

form and also to retain the political and executive powers as president. If Musharraf succeeds in this plan, this will go in favor of Washington. But Washington sees some serious problems, which would derail Musharraf's bid to remain the most powerful man in Pakistan. This may lead Washington to settle General Musharraf's issue the way it dealt with General Zia. The following factors show that assassinating Musharraf might become one of the best options for the United States in the present circumstances.

General Musharraf has not outlived his utility for Washington as yet. However, it is not possible for General Musharraf to remain the army chief forever. The best way Washington believes its interest could be served is to make General Musharraf's autocratic rule look more democratic. For that, instead of crafting new webs and making another leader to fully submit to the colonial masters of present age, Washington would like to see Musharraf become another Hosnie Mubarak in Islamabad. Washington now wants him to shed his uniform and become a civilian president in the present setup.

The dilemma before Washington, however, is that Musharraf can become a president for life by deception and intrigue. However, he can never remain the chief of armed forces for life. On the other hand, no civilian ruler can use the military in the service of the United States as effectively as General Musharraf is doing because of his position as the military chief. At the same time, the U.S. efforts to create an alternate political leadership in the country to increase pressure on Musharraf also seem to be getting nowhere.

At the home front, General Musharraf's present political allies are more of a liability than asset for him now. The main political allies, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML Quid-e-Azam group), are most corrupt, inefficient and ineffective, with no hope of securing required seats in the next elections. There is also serious internal dissent within the PML (Q).

General Musharraf's other ally, Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), is also considered a corrupt, blackmailing, sub-nationalist-minded, mafia-styled gang, which is fully exploiting the weaknesses of the General. MQM is the most unreliable, even treacherous, political ally for him.

Musharraf propped up the religious alliance of Muthahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) and then used it for constitutional changes in his favor. Musharraf reneged on public promises to MMA to relinquish the post of Chief of Army Staff as part of the process of restoring democracy in Pakistan. Islamabad's suspension from Commonwealth was lifted on the condition that General Musharraf would give up his military uniform by the end of 2004 as a proof of his commitment to democratic reform. Now the religious alliance is sensing his weaknesses and is gearing up its barrage against him.

There is a very strong perception within the religious parties that the MQM was behind the Karachi blast in April 2006. Scores of people, including prominent MMA leader Haji Hanif Billo, were killed when a bomb went off at a religious gathering in Karachi. Since then, the government has contemplated no action against the MQM, a factor that will agitate more public anger.

Former prime ministers Nawaz, Sharif and Benazir are now flexing their muscles to challenge him in the coming days. There are talks of joint efforts to remove Musharraf and even the MQM is signaling that it is willing to join such a campaign. If Benazir and Nawaz decided to return before the elections, even their arrest would make them political heroes, creating more embarrassment for the General.

The entire governance and economy is in a big mess. Musharraf relied on Shaukat Aziz, who has miserably failed on all counts. Inflation is wrecking the life of the common man – the vote bank in any elections. That vote bank is not impressed with Shaukat Aziz blowing smoke in their face

with economic jargon. For a common man, for example, it is enough to know that the sugar crisis is still haunting the country. The prices have almost doubled in recent months to record levels. Still, there are no imports and all the national demands are being met in abundant supply from local stocks. The price hike gave windfall profits of billions of rupees to a few select sugar cartel mafias within a few months. The much-vaunted National Accountability Bureau was forced to drop the probe immediately after it started. The common man knows that corruption is at an all-time high within the state machinery. Abuse of power and authority are daily headlines. Police and the judiciary system remain most corrupt as well.

Thus, General Musharraf and Washington are now left with extremely limited, difficult and almost impossible options.

1. Even if the military is still behind General Musharraf, it is highly unlikely that he may decide to confront the Americans, forget about democracy, stop taking international pressures, and take absolute power in his own hands once again as he had when he took power in October 1999. It does not seem possible that Musharraf would once more abolish the assemblies, defer the constitution, draft his own constitution, and declare a presidential system or even martial law. In the past, he formed a team of so-considered honest, selfless and efficient professionals to rectify the damages done in the past few years and tried to bring back control in the economy, security, governance, judiciary and social welfare of the country. He has clearly failed. Of course, the suffering masses are not interested in democracy or martial law. They want security, dignity, cheap food and energy, as well as economic development. It does not matter to them who delivers this. Nevertheless, it will be a huge task to fool them twice with the same mantra. On the part of General Musharraf, it would amount to saying, "I am redoing

- the eight-year experiment from the scratch.”
2. Another option is renegotiating with the Americans. It is not a problem for him to bend backwards even more. He would send Pakistani forces to Iraq, recognize Israel, commit more troops to Miran Shah and other tribal areas, take responsibility for finishing off the anti-occupation resistance in Afghanistan and the Madrassas in Pakistan, and allow more unrestricted access to the United States into Pakistan’s security and intelligence, as well as nuke apparatus. Nevertheless, for sustaining these approaches, he has to remain the chief of armed forces. With these measures, he can immediately become the blue-eyed boy of the Americans once again and there will be no further chatter in Washington about democracy, which is only intended to push Musharraf into further submission. But Musharraf will have a revolt on hand in the home front and perhaps even a rebellion in the army.
  3. The third option is to contest elections with whatever support base the General has so far and keep Benazir, Nawaz and Sharif out of the electoral process to weaken their collective nuisance. Some heavy-duty management will be required to “arrange” the required results and to neutralize the MMA and PPP/Nawaz factor. The general has done this with the help of ISI before and can do the same again. Consequently, MQM will continue to exploit the situation and basically nothing will improve in the country in terms of economy and governance or law and order; likewise, the same team of suspects will reappear to exploit him even further for the next four years. Things can get mismanaged if Nawaz and Benazir decided to come back before the elections and launch a street protest calling their court cases politically motivated. The MMA would also join them and a bit of “hidden hand” support could start an unexpected but very real

inferno. Even if everything goes well, General Musharraf will have to give up his position as the military chief. Losing his military position will make him lose all attractiveness to Washington, which is mainly concerned with sustaining Pakistan's occupation with the Pakistani armed forces and using the Pakistani army in the interest of the United States.

4. The fourth option is that the General reads the writing on the wall and decides to quit, handing over power to the next army chief who would promise the elections or would decide to stay in power depending upon what he wants to do. Musharraf will have to leave the country with his family and may settle in some friendly or neutral country like Turkey or a country in Europe. This option suits Washington, but General Musharraf is addicted to power to an extent that it is highly unlikely that he will hang his boots up so easily.
5. The last option is assassination. General Musharraf may be assassinated either by his army men, any local resistance groups, Baluchistan Liberation army assassins, or, most probably, someone sent by the Americans to blame "religious extremists" and pave the way for another military general to take over and continue Pakistan's occupation for another decade or so. Being in charge of Musharraf's personal security in many ways, it is only the Americans who can successfully carry out the assassination operation against him. His departure in a violent manner will serve many of the United States' strategic objectives.

In the near future, events would basically unfold in one of the many options discussed above. Right now, both Musharraf and Washington are confused and have not clearly decided on any of the options.

For Washington, the assassination option carries the most

weight. We know from experience that leaders in the Muslim world who associated themselves with Washington unconditionally are doomed. The Shah of Iran, General Zia and Saddam Hussein are prominent examples. General Musharraf may continue to rule by force and power, but would not have any grassroots support and hence would remain on shaky ground within his own country.

Besides blackmailing to the fullest, Washington is giving General Musharraf a very tough time. Musharraf was the architect of Kargil operation against India. At that time he was dare devil, hardly caring about anyone. However, after the blackmail for ISI's misadventures, he has been turned into Washington's most submissive serf. Out of fear, he has surrendered so much that now he is not finding the courage to stand up to Washington or to face the nation. He has gone silent these days and is not defending U.S. actions, nor is he making supportive statements about the U.S. strategy in the Muslim world. General Musharraf was under the misconception that Washington would appreciate his concessions, which it was obtaining from the General through blackmail, as his favors. This, however, was not the case. Washington didn't appreciate the "sincerity" and "sacrifice" of the entrapped general. Now, the disillusioned general is annoyed and offended by the American rebuffs to his demands and is feeling ditched and betrayed. That is a sick feeling for a man who had put all his eggs in one big American basket and is now left alone and abandoned to be replaced with another strongman, who could keep himself in uniform for a longer period than the burnt out General Musharraf. A more docile and cooperative political leadership would be the last option considered in Washington.

General Musharraf is in the middle of nowhere at the moment. His only option is to come out clean on his relations with the Americans and to give voice to what he has been

hiding from his people and the whole world. He might be portrayed as insane, but to save Pakistan and the world from the scourge of a greater war, he must tell the truth. To grab the initiative back and restore the confidence of his nation in his words and deeds, General Musharraf has to tell the whole story of his entrapment. Unless General Musharraf restores the confidence of his people in his policies at home by telling the whole truth about the way the ISI was used in 9/11 and how Pakistan has been blackmailed, he is doomed.

Unfortunately, General Musharraf's doom will not be the end of the story. That will mark the beginning of some unprecedented problems for Pakistan, which has become perfectly entangled in the American web as a result of the ISI's misadventures and military leadership's myopic and supine approach.

Since there is no hope that Pakistanis will make their military accountable to the people; that political leadership in Pakistan and the masses will liberate themselves from the military occupation and exploitation; that they will get a lesson from the past; that America, India and Israel will give up undermining Pakistan's very existence, the whole South Asian region is at the verge of witnessing prelude to the Greater War in the Middle East.

The day is not far away when Pakistan, India and Afghanistan will be burning in the same flames which have engulfed Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal areas today. The planners of Operation 9/11 were expert in deceiving the world. However, they were naïve enough to assume that their actions will have no side effects other than what they had planned to achieve their sinister objectives. Unfortunately Operation 9/11 was not another Operation C-Chase, nor will Pakistan disappear with whimper like the demise of the BCCI.

The culprits of 9/11 will not plead guilty. Nevertheless, the world knows what really happened and who was behind the



whole operation. The world only needs an insider to come out and tell it all. General Musharraf was probably not part of the planning process. But he can tell how he was blackmailed and forced into submission to the U.S. illegitimate demands. He knows how General Mahmood was used and abused in the set-up phase of the 9/11. By telling the truth about the ISI's saga of entrapment, these two persons can save the humanity from the scourge of a greater war. They can save lives of millions from the curse of modern day fascism.

# Notes

1. See: Arnold S. Trebach, *The Great Drug War*, Unlimited Publishing LLC, 2005, Page 334.
2. See: James Bovard, *Lost Rights: The Destruction of American Liberty*, Palgrave, 2000. Page 3. For more information on entrapment, set ups and conspiracy cases.  
Also See: Eva Bertram, *Drug War Politics*, University of California Press, 1996. Tara Herivel, *Prison Nation: The Warehousing of America's Poor*, edited by Paul Wright, Routledge, 2003, Page 69. G Daniel Lassiter, *Interrogations, Confessions, and Entrapment*, Springer, 2004.
3. Factbites. Abscam: URL: <http://www.factbites.com/topics/Abscam>
4. See Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers*, South End Press, 2001.
5. See James Risen, *State of War: The Secret History of the C.I.A. and the Bush Administration*, The Free Press, January 2006.
6. Ahmed Rashid, *The Taliban: Exporting Extremism, Foreign Affairs*, November-December 1999. See also Michel Chossudovsky, *Who is Osama*

- bin Laden*, Global Outlook, No. 1, 2002.
7. *The Times of India*, March 7, 2001. URL <http://www.timesofindia.com/today/07euro1.htm>
  8. Agence France Presse (AFP), October 10, 2001.
  9. Michael Meacher, "Britain now faces its own blowback: Intelligence interests may thwart the July bombings investigation," *The Guardian*, September 10, 2005. URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1566916,00.html>
  10. AFP, October 10, 2001.
  11. Federal News Service, 16 May 2002. CNN: SHOW: CNN NSIDE POLITICS 16:00, May 16, 2002 Thursday, Transcript # 051600CN. V15. Note that in the White House and CNN transcripts of Dr. Rice's press conference, the words "ISI chief" were transcribed respectively by a blank "--" and "(inaudible)". Federal News Service Inc. which is a transcription Service of official documents provided a correct transcription, with a minor error in punctuation, which we corrected. The White House transcript is at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020516-13.html>. All three transcripts were verified by the author and are available on Nexus. Federal News Service documents are also available for a fee at <http://www.fnsg.com/>
  12. Michel Chossudovsky reached this conclusion from the reports appearing in *The Commercial Appeal, Memphis*, (May 17, 2002) and the *Washington Post*, May 17, 2002, January 27 and 29, 2002). The report is available at: [http://www.prisonplanet.com/new\\_revelations\\_on\\_911.htm](http://www.prisonplanet.com/new_revelations_on_911.htm)
  13. In the 1993 WTC bombing, the FBI, penetrated "a circle of Muslim extremists" plotting to bomb the WTC, United Nations, Hudson River Tunnels through a former Egyptian army officer informant, Emad A. Salem. The *New York Times* (October 28, 1993, p. 1) reported the FBI knew in advance that terrorists were plotting to build a bomb and "blow up the World Trade Center" and "planned to thwart the plotters by secretly substituting harmless powder for the explosives...". Mr. Salem secretly recorded his conversations with FBI agents and the transcripts show, Mr. Salem tried to complain to FBI Headquarters in Washington about the bureau's failure to stop the bombing but was dissuaded by an agent identified as John Anticev. Defense attorney, William Kunstler, had seen some of the transcripts and described them as "filled with all sorts of Government misconduct."
- In the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing, McVeigh may have been guilty, yet many researchers do not believe he did this alone and was manipulated or coerced into committing this major crime. All of the sources for this information are part of the public domain from US NEWS 7 WORLD REPORT, May, 17, 2001; *Newsweek*, February 19, 1996, p. 29; also,

Oct.12, 1998, p.48; *The New American* (www.thenewamerican.com), *Insight Magazine*, May, 12, 2001; CBS, *Tulsa World*, etc linking him to the ATF, FBI informant Carol Howe-Strassmeir-Elohim City group.

More interesting is the case of Nawaf Alhazmi and Khalid Almihdhar and the meeting they attended in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in January 2000...they were photographed with bin Attash aka Khallad linked to the bombing of the USS Cole. But, the FBI knew in advance about this meeting through a wiretap placed on a Yemen telephone of Ahmed Al-Hada (the father in law of Almihdhar)... this was the logistics center where bombings in Africa and on the USS Cole were planned (Newsweek, June 10, 2002, p. 25). This phone number was given to the FBI and CIA by one of the captured bombers of the US Embassies in Africa, al-Owhali...And both the CIA and FBI had access to this information prior to 9/11. Alhazmi and Almihdhar returned to the US and lived openly there using their real names on driver's licenses, opening bank accounts, and attending flight schools, and the FBI and CIA claimed they were not aware of their terrorists links and lost track of their movements.

Also see: Patrick Briley, "Congress, Lawsuit, Link Foreign, Domestic Terrorist To Okc, NewsWithViews.com, April 23, 2006. <http://www.newswithviews.com/Briley/Patrick26.htm>. Patrick Briley is a Navy Viet Nam era veteran who served on a Polaris ballistic missile nuclear submarine patrol in the Pacific. Patrick submitted his findings concerning the OKC bombing and the 9-11 attacks in briefings to high-level staff for the Senate Judiciary and Senate and House Intelligence committees, House Speaker Dennis Hastert, and the 9-11 Commission.

Carl Limbacher, "Khalid Sheikh Mohammed's Account Links 9/11 to '93 WTC Attack," Newsmax.com September 23, 2003. <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/987075/posts>.

14. On FOX News Channel's Day Side [29 July, 2005], Terrorism Expert John Loftus revealed that Haroon Rashid Aswat, the suspect wanted by British Police for 'masterminding' the July 7th London bombings and July 21st attempted bombings is in fact an asset of MI6, the British Secret Service. According to Loftus, Aswat has been under the protection of MI6 for many years. Also see: Michel Chossudovsky, "London 7/7 Terror Suspect Linked to British Intelligence?" GlobalResearch.ca, August 1, 2005.
15. Peter Dale Scott and Jonathan Marshall, *Cocaine Politics Drugs, Armies and the CIA in Central America*, (University of California Press, 1991), which tells how the CIA works with narcotics traffickers, and then fights to suppress the truth. It concludes, the U.S. government "is one of the world's largest drug pushers."

Also see:

Gary Web, *Dark Alliance: the CIA, the Contras, and the Crack Cocaine Explosion*, which gives names, dates, places, and dollar amounts to build a towering wall of evidence in support of his argument.

Cellerino Castillo, *Powder Burns: Cocaine, Contras & The Drug Connection*, (1992), is yet another book by a retired DEA agent.

Ryan Mark Zepezauer, “*The CIA’s Greatest Hits (The Real Story)*.”

According to the author, by 1970 the United States was flooded with pure Asian heroin; some of it was even smuggled back into the country in the corpses of U.S. soldiers..... The CIA airline, Air America, ran weapons to Hmong armies in Laos and brought their opium crop back out to market. Some of these massive profits were laundered in Australia and then used to finance other CIA operations..... The Nicaraguan Contras were partially funded by cocaine operations, smuggled to and from the United States on customs free supply flights. CIA assets in Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Panama helped to facilitate the trading.”

Michael Levine, Laura Kavanau Levine, “*The Big White Lie: the Deep Cover Operation*” exposes the CIA’s exploitation and the “deadliest lie” ever perpetrated by the U.S. government - the War on Drugs.

16. *Dawn* report, “ISI criticized at U.S. Senate hearing,” March 22, 2003.
17. The content in Chapter 2 was published in four parts in 1994. Abid Ullah Jan, “The Saga of BCCI Closure,” *The Muslim*, July 1, 1994. Abid Ullah Jan, “The Saga of BCCI Closure: Operation C-Chase ends,” *The Muslim*, July 8, 1994. Abid Ullah Jan, “The Saga of BCCI Closure: Romantic escapade becomes nightmare,” *The Muslim*, July 22, 1994. Abid Ullah Jan, “The Saga of BCCI Closure: The money matters,” *The Muslim*, July 29, 1994. These articles were mainly developed from the court transcripts of Akbar Bilgrami, one of the BCCI officers, who was kept in jail for five years in the United States.
18. Testimony of Wilmer “Buddy” Parker, III. Wilmer Parker, partner in the law firm of Kilpatrick Stockton LLP. He was a United States prosecutor for 19 years; first as a trial attorney for the Criminal Section of the Tax Division of the U. S. Department of Justice here in Washington, D.C. from 1978 to 1983 and then as an Assistant United States Attorney (“AUSA”) for the Northern District of Georgia in Atlanta. See URL: <http://financialservices.house.gov/banking/42099par.htm>
19. Neil Cooper and Michael Pugh, with Jonathan Goodhand, *War Economies in a Regional Context: The Challenges of Transformation* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).
20. See Alfred McCoy, *Drug fallout: the CIA’s Forty Year Complicity in the Narcotics Trade*, *The Progressive*; 1 August 1997.
21. “If you sup with the devil, use a long spoon.” This proverb was current

- in the fourteenth century. Chaucer using it in his *Canterbury Tales*: “Therfor bihoveth him a ful long spoon/ That shal ete with a feend,” thus herde I seye.” (The Squire’s Tale, c1386). And Shakespeare referred to it in *The Tempest* (1610) where Stephano says of Caliban: “This is a devil, and no monster; I will leave him; I have no long spoon.”“ From the “Dictionary of Proverbs and their Origins” by Linda and Roger Flavell (Barnes & Noble Books, New York, 1993).
22. Raman, B. 2001. “Heroin, Taliban and Pakistan,” *Financial Times*, September 10, 2001.
  23. Tim McGirk, “Rouges no more: Pervez Musharraf is attempting to tame Pakistan’s secret service,” *Time*, June 6, 2002. <http://www.time.com/time/asia/magazine/article/0,13673,501020506-233999,00.html>
  24. *Guardian*, August 22, 2004. URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/usa/story/0,12271,1266520,00.html>
  25. Sidney Blumenthal, “Killing the CIA,” Spiegel online, May 11, 2006. <http://service.spiegel.de/cache/international/0,1518,415638,00.html>
  26. Richard Leiby, “A Cloak But No Dagger: An Ex-Spy Says He Seeks Solutions, Not Scapegoats for 9/11,” the *Washington Post*, May 18, 2002; Page C01.
  27. John Pacenti, “Intelligence Panel Hears from Glass,” *The Palm Beach Post*, October 17, 2002. According to this report, Senator Graham acknowledges that his office had contact with Glass before 9/11, and was told about a WTC attack: “I was concerned about that and a dozen other pieces of information which emanated from the summer of 2001.” But Graham later says he personally was unaware of Glass’s information until after 9/11. In October 2002, Glass testifies under oath before a private session of the Congressional 9/11 inquiry. He states, “I told [the inquiry] I have specific evidence, and I can document it.” This testimony and most evidence still have not been made public.
  28. Agence France Presse, “Pakistani President Meets U.S. Congressmen,” August 28, 2001.
  29. James Risenm “Trace of Terror: The Congressional Hearings; Rifts Plentiful As 9/11 Inquiry Begins Today,” *The New York Times*, June 4, 2002, Section A, Page 1, Column 5.
  30. The Indian SAPRA news agency, May 22, 2001.
  31. “ISI chief’s parleys continue in U.S.,” *The News* (Pakistan), September 10, 2001. URL: [http://www.karachipage.com/news/Sep\\_01/091001.html](http://www.karachipage.com/news/Sep_01/091001.html)
  32. Volume 2 of the CIA Inspector General’s Report on Contra drug smuggling and CIA complicity was released late last fall (Fall ‘98). URL: <http://ciadrugs.homestead.com/files/index-cia-ig-rpt.html>. The CIA’s own *Inspector General* shows that from the very start of the U.S.-backed war on Nicaragua the CIA knew the Contras were planning to traffic in cocaine

- into the United States. It did nothing to stop the traffic and, when other government agencies began to probe, the CIA impeded their investigations. When Contra money raisers were arrested the Agency came to their aid and retrieved their drug money from the police. So, was the Agency complicit in drug trafficking into Los Angeles and other cities? It is impossible to read Hitz's report and not conclude that this was the case. Gary Webb (author of the *Dark Alliance* series and book) provides an excellent synopsis of the IG Report's contents. URL: <http://ciadrugs.homestead.com/files/cia-ig-rpt-gw.html>.
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## FROM FROM BCCI TO ISI

This book tells the untold story of how the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) was entrapped, and demonstrates that American interests and people are not of concern to those who have set their eyes upon global domination. The story of the BCCI entrapment leads us into the rest of the book, which unravels the role of the Pakistan spy agency (ISI), the CIA, and Mossad in Operation 9/11. The BCCI case shows how framing up is the most favorite tool of the U.S. agencies for entrapping individuals, organizations and, in this case, Pakistan and its armed forces.

Abid Ullah Jan shows how the ISI played the part of a worthless pawn in Operation 9/11—as insignificant as the “hijackers” themselves. The stakes of the game are much higher—the strategic military might of Pakistan and other Muslim states, and the Muslims’ struggle toward self-determination. The ISI was used as simply an individual intelligence asset of the CIA. The author poses the question: What will happen when it is time for the chess masters to discard the ISI, particularly when the ISI’s fingerprints are all over the 9/11 crime scene?

This book explains how General Musharraf has become a victim of blackmail for the ISI’s role in Operation 9/11. Subsequently, the General has done more under constant threats than he could against the sovereignty, independence and strategic interests of Pakistan. Despite that, the blackmail continues. Now it is a matter of life and death for General Musharraf, but he still has limited time and razor sharp options to save not only Pakistan but millions of other who are set to suffer and die in the coming Greater War—a war which is the humanity’s common destiny if the truth about Operation 9/11, the ISI’s role in it and the way Pakistan has been blackmailed since then remains hidden from the masses.



Abid Ullah Jan is the author of *A War on Islam?* (2001), *The End of Democracy* (2003), *The Musharraf Factor: Leading Pakistan to Inevitable Demise* (2005), *Afghanistan: The Genesis of the Final Crusade* (2006) and *After Fascism: Muslims and the Struggle for Self-determination* (2006). He is a political analyst and journalist residing in Canada. He is associated with the Independent Centre for Strategic Studies and Analysis ([www.icssa.org](http://www.icssa.org)). A frequent commentator on global politics, his write-ups are published widely in various leading publications around the world.

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